

THE NOVELS
AND MISCELLANEOUS WORKS
OF DANIEL DE FOE.

VOLUME THE TWENTIETH.

THE LIFE OF DANIEL DE FOE.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

A LIST OF DE FOE'S WORKS, ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY.

AN APPEAL TO HONOUR AND JUSTICE.

A SEASONABLE WARNING AND CAUTION.

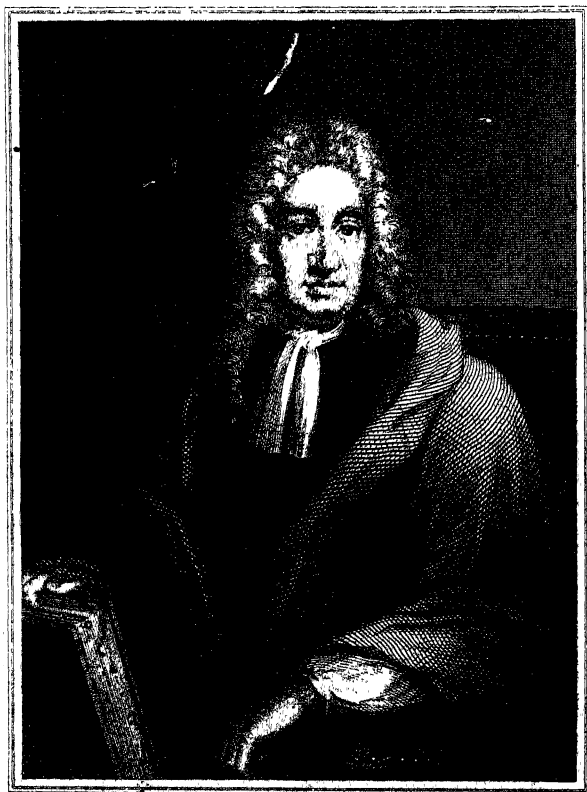
REASONS AGAINST THE SUCCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.

WHAT IF THE PRETENDER SHOULD COME.

AN ANSWER TO A QUESTION WHICH NOBODY THINKS OF, WHAT IF

THE QUEEN SHOULD DIE ?

THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN.



James Oglethorpe

Engraved by G. Kneller, 1734

THE NOVELS
AND
MISCELLANEOUS WORKS
OF
DANIEL DE FOE.

WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR, LITERARY
PREFACES TO THE VARIOUS PIECES, ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES, ETC.,
INCLUDING ALL CONTAINED IN THE EDITION ATTRIBUTED TO

THE LATE SIR WALTER SCOTT,

WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS.

VOL. XX.

LIFE OF DANIEL DE FOE

BY G. CHALMERS, ESQ

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

A LIST OF DE FOE'S WORKS, ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY.
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.
THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN.



OXFORD:

PRINTED BY D. A. TALBOYS,

FOR THOMAS TEGG, 73, CHEAPSIDE, LONDON.

1841.

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IN ONE VOLUME.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE ensuing Life was written for amusement, during a period of convalescence in 1785; and published anonymously by Stockdale, before The History of the Union, in 1786. As the Author fears no reproach for such amusement, during such a period, he made no strong objections to Stockdale's solicitations, that it might be annexed, with the author's name, to his splendid edition of Robinson Crusoe. The reader will now have the benefit of a few corrections, with some additions, and a List of De Foe's Writings.

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THE LIFE OF DE FOE,

BY

GEORGE CHALMERS, ESQ

It is lamented by those who labour the fields of British biography, that after being entangled in briars they are often rewarded with the scanty products of barrenness. The lives of literary men are generally passed in the obscurities of the closet, which conceal even from friendly inquiries the artifices of study, whereby each may have risen to eminence. And during the same moment that the diligent biographer sets out to ask for information, with regard to the origin, the modes of life, or the various fortunes of writers who have amused or instructed their country, the housekeeper, the daughter, or grandchild, that knew connections and traditions, drop into the grave.

These reflections naturally arose from my inquiries about the life of the author of *The History of The Union of Great Britain*; and of *The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*. Whether he were born on the neighbouring continent, or in this island; in London, or in the country; was equally uncertain. And whether his name were Foe, or De Foe, was somewhat doubtful. Like Swift, he had perhaps reasons for concealing what would have added little to his consequence. It is at length known, with sufficient certainty, that our author was the son of James Foe, of the parish of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, London,

LIFE.

B *

citizen and butcher. The concluding sentiment of The True-born Englishman, we now see, was then as natural as it will ever be just:—

Then, let us boast of ancestors no more,
For, fame of families is all a cheat ;
'Tis personal virtue only makes us great.

If we may credit the gazette, Daniel Foe, or De Foe, as he is said by his enemies to have called himself, that he might not be thought an Englishman, was born in London^a, about the year 1663. His family were probably dissenters^b, among whom he

^a It is at last discovered, by searching the chamberlain's books, which have since been burnt, that our author was the son of James Foe, of the parish of Cripplegate, London, citizen and butcher ; who was himself the son of Daniel Foe, of Elton, in the county of Northampton, yeoman ; and who obtained his freedom by serving his apprenticeship with John Levit, citizen and butcher. Daniel Foe, the son of James, was admitted to his freedom by birth, on the 26th of January, 1687-8. I was led to these discoveries by observing that De Foe had voted at an election for a representative of London ; whence I inferred, that he must have been a citizen either by birth or service. But in the parish books I could find no notice of his baptism ; as his parents were dissenters.

^b In his preface to More Reformation, De Foe complains, that some dissenters had reproached him, as if he had said, "that the gallows and the galleys ought to be the penalty of going to the conventicle ; forgetting, that I must design to have my father, my wife, six innocent children, and myself, put into the same condition. To such dissenters I can only regret," says he, "that when I had drawn the picture, I did not, like the Dutchman with his man and bear, write under them, This is the man ; and this is the bear." De Foe expressly admits that he was a dissenter, though no independent-fifth-monarchy man, or leveller. [De Foe, Works, edit. 1703. p. 326—448.] His grandfather, however, seems to have been of different feelings, as he kept a pack of hounds. From this fact it is inferred by his learned and laborious biographer Mr. Walter Wilson, that he was of the royal party, as the puritans did not indulge in that amusement ; and also that he moved in a respectable station of life. De Foe himself thus

received no unlettered education ; at least it is plain, from his various writings, that he was a zealous defender of their principles, and a strenuous supporter of their politics, before the liberality of our rulers in church and state had freed this conduct from danger. He merits the praise which is due to sincerity in manner of thinking, and to uniformity in habits of acting, whatever obloquy may have been cast on his name, by attributing writings to him, which, as they belonged to others, he was studious to disavow.

Our author was educated at a dissenting academy, which was kept at Newington-green, by Charles Morton. He delights to praise that learned gentleman^c, whose instructive lessons he probably enjoyed

alludes to his grandfather [Review, vol. vii. preface], " I remember my grandfather had a huntsman that used the same familiarity with his dogs, and he had his Roundhead and his Cavalier, his Goring and his Waller, and all the generals of both armies were hounds in his pack, till the times turning, the old gentleman was fain to scatter the pack and make them up of more doglike surnames." It seems also probable, that the property to which De Foe alludes as possessed by himself, was inherited from this grandfather. " I have both a native and an acquired right of election in more than one place in Britain, and as such am a part of the body that honourable house (of commons) represents, and from hence I believe may claim a right in due manner to represent, complain, address, or petition them." [Review, vol. vi. p. 477.] Mr. Wilson corrects the mistake of Mr. Chalmers and other biographers, as to the date of De Foe's birth, which really took place in 1661, and not as stated by them in 1663.—Ed.

^c Works, 3rd. edit. vol. ii. p. 276. He was placed there when about fourteen years old, and appears to have been educated to his own satisfaction in afterlife. He described it as an academy where all the lectures, whether in philosophy or divinity, were given in English, and where consequently " though the scholars were not destitute of the languages, yet it is observed of them that they were by this made masters of the English tongue, and more of them excelled in that particular than of any school at that time." Certainly no man ever better understood how to use

from 1675 to 1680, as a master who taught nothing either in politics, or science, which was dangerous to monarchical government, or which was improper for a diligent scholar to know. Being in 1705 accused by Tutchin of illiterature, De Foe archly acknowledged, "I owe this justice to my ancient father, who is yet living, and in whose behalf I freely testify, that if I am a blockhead, it was nobody's fault but my own; he having spared nothing that

a plain, racy, thorough English style, than De Foe. But still he was not deficient in learning. He boldly asserts himself on this point, in the passage from which Mr. Chalmers has made an extract in the text: "I have no concern to tell Dr. Browne I can read English, nor to tell Mr. Tutchin, I understand Latin; *non ita Latinus, sum ut Latine loqui*. I easily acknowledge myself blockhead enough to have lost the fluency of expression in the Latin, and so far trade as been a prejudice to me, and yet I think I owe this justice to my ancient father, still living (1705), and in whose behalf I freely testify, that if I am a blockhead, it was nobody's fault but my own; he having spared nothing in my education that might qualify me to match the accurate Dr. Browne, or the learned Observator. As to Mr. Tutchin, I never gave him the least affront; I have, even after base usage, in vain invited him to peace; in answer to which he returns unmanly insults, calumnies, and reproach. As to my little learning, and his great capacity, I freely challenge him to translate with me any Latin, French, and Italian author, and after that, to retranslate them crossways, for 20*l*. each book; and by this he shall have an opportunity to show the world how much De Foe, the hosier, is inferior in learning to Mr. Tutchin, the gentleman." [Review vol. ii. p. 149.] He also vindicated Mr. Morton's academy from the charge made against it by the Rev. Samuel Wesley, father of the celebrated founder of Methodism, that antimonarchical and unconstitutional doctrines were taught there. De Foe especially denies this. His domestic education seems to have been according to the system then pursued by the strict and pious dissenters. He mentions that he began the task performed by many others of that then persecuted body, of copying the Bible in shorthand, and that he finished the Pentateuch. [Review vol. vi. p. 573.] He was intended for the ministry; but for what reason he relinquished that profession is not known. "It was his disaster," he says, "first, to be set apart for, and then to be set apart from, the honour of that sacred employ."—Ed.

might qualify me to match the accurate Dr. B—— or the learned Tutchin^d.”

De Foe was born a writer, as other men are born generals and statesmen; and when he was not twenty-one, he published, in 1683, a pamphlet against a very prevailing sentiment in favour of the Turks, as opposed to the Austrians; very justly thinking, as he avows in his riper age, that it was better the popish house of Austria should ruin the protestants in Hungary, than the infidel house of Ottoman should ruin both protestants and papists, by overrunning Germany^e. De Foe was a man who would fight as

^d Review, vol. ii. p. 150.

^e Appeal, p. 51. This was not the first occasion of his appearing in print. His earliest effort as an author was an answer to Roger L'Estrange's Guide to the Inferior Clergy, and was intituled, *Speculum Crape Gownorum*; or, A Looking-glass for the Young Academicks, new Foyl'd, with Reflections on some of the late high-flown Sermons; to which is added, An Essay towards a Sermon of the newest fashion. By a Guide to the Inferior Clergy. *Ridentem discere verum, quis vitat?* It was published in 1682. This work, as might be anticipated, was a satiric attack on the clergy of that day.

De Foe's object in the pamphlet mentioned in the text, was to assert the policy of defending the house of Austria, then closely and vigorously attacked by the Turks. The “prevailing sentiment,” referred to by Mr. Chalmers, was a dissatisfaction with the emperor for his cruel persecution of the protestants in Hungary; and which carried the national feeling so far as to make any assistance rendered to the emperor, even against the threatening Turks, extremely unpopular. De Foe, then very young, took the field on the weaker side, and strenuously maintained the danger to Christendom arising from the Mahommedan power being allowed to enter Vienna. Happily, the courage of John Sobieski, king of Poland, prevented that, once imminent, danger. De Foe, in a late period of his life, thus refers to his conduct on this occasion. “The first time I had the misfortune to differ from my friends, was about the year 1683, when the Turks were besieging Vienna, and the whigs in England, generally speaking, were for the Turks taking it; whilst I, having read the history of the cruelty and perfidious

well as write for his principles; and before he was three-and-twenty he appeared in arms for the duke of Monmouth, in June 1685. Of this exploit he boasts^f in his latter years, when it was no longer dangerous to avow his participation in that imprudent enterprise, with greater men of similar principles.

Having escaped from the dangers of battle, and from the fangs of Jefferys, De Foe found complete security in the more gainful pursuits of peace. Yet he was prompted by his zeal to mingle in the controversies of the reign of James II. whom he efficaciously opposed, by warning the dissenters of the secret danger of the insidious tolerance which was offered by the monarch's bigotry, or by the minister's artifice^g. When our author collected his

dealings of the Turks in their wars, and how they had rooted out the name of the Christian religion in above threescore and ten kingdoms, could by no means agree with, and though then but a young man and a young author, I opposed it and wrote against it, which was taken very unkind indeed." [Vide Appeal to Honour and Justice.]—ED.

^f Appeal.

^g The title of De Foe's pamphlet, or pamphlets, on this subject, does not seem to be known, but he more than once in afterlife proudly refers to his efforts on that important matter. "The next time I differed with my friends, was when king James was wheedling the dissenters to take off the penal laws and test, which I could by no means come into. And as in the first I used to say, I had rather the popish house of Austria should ruin the protestants in Hungary, than that the infidel house of Ottoman should ruin both protestant and papist, by overrunning Germany, so in the other I told the dissenters I had rather the Church of England should pull our clothes off by fines and forfeitures, than that the papists should fall both upon the church and the dissenters, and pull our skins off by fire and fagot." [Appeal to Honour and Justice.] And again: "I never would have had the dissenters to join with king James, to take off the penal laws and test. No; no: I thank God I was of age then to bear my testimony against it, and to affront some who were of a different opinion." [Review, vol. viii. p. 694.]—ED.

writings, he did not think proper to republish either his tract against the Turks, or his pamphlet against the king.

De Foe was admitted a liveryman of London on the 26th of January, 1687-8; when, being allowed his freedom by birth, he was received a member of that eminent corporation. As he had endeavoured to promote the revolution by his pen and his sword, he had the satisfaction of partaking, ere long, in the pleasures and advantages of that great event. During the hilarity of that moment, the lord mayor of London asked king William to partake of the city feast on the 29th of October, 1689. Every honour was paid the sovereign of the people's choice. A regiment of volunteers, composed of the chief citizens, and commanded by the celebrated earl of Peterborough, attended the king and queen from Whitehall to the Mansion-house. Among these troopers, gallantly mounted, and richly accoutred, was Daniel De Foe, if we may believe Oldmixon^h.

While our author thus displayed his zeal, and courted notice, he is said to have acted as a hosier

^h History, vol. ii. p. 37. The following is the passage in Oldmixon: "Their majesties, attended by their royal highnesses and a numerous train of nobility and gentry, went first to a balcony prepared for them at the Angel in Cheapside, to see the show; which for the great number of liverymen, the full appearance of the militia, and the artillery company, the rich adornments of the pageants, and the splendour and good order of the whole proceedings, outdid all that had been seen before, on that occasion; and what deserved to be particularly remembered, says a reverend historian, was a royal regiment of volunteer horse, made up of the chief citizens, who being gallantly mounted and richly accoutred, were led by the earl of Monmouth, now earl of Peterborough, and attended there majesties from Whitehall. Among these troopers, who were for the most part dissenters, was Daniel De Foe, at that time a hosier in Freeman's Yard, Cornhill." [History of England, vol. iii. p. 36.]

in Freeman's Yard, Cornhill; but the hosierⁱ and the poet are very irreconcilable characters. With the usual imprudence of superior genius, he was carried by his vivacity into companies who were gratified by his wit. He spent those hours with a small society for the cultivation of polite learning, which he ought to have employed in the calculations of the counting-house; and being obliged to abscond from his creditors, in 1692, he naturally attributed those misfortunes to the war, which were probably owing to his own misconduct^k.

ⁱ Being reproached by Tutchin, in his *Observator*, with having been bred an apprentice to a hosier, De Foe asserts, in May, 1705, that he never was a hosier, or an apprentice, but admits that he had been a trader. [Review, vol. ii. p. 149.] Oldmixon, who never speaks favourably of De Foe, allows that he had never been a merchant, otherwise than peddling a little to Portugal. [Hist. vol. ii. p. 519.] But, peddling to Portugal makes a trader.

^h These views of Mr. Chalmers seem confirmed by De Foe's own severe comments on the distraction caused to tradesmen by an over-indulgence in literary pursuits. In his *Complete Tradesman*, one of the most valuable practical books that was ever published, and which should be the manual of every young man beginning business, he says, "a wit turned tradesman! no apronstrings will hold him; it is in vain to lock him behind the counter, he is gone in a moment. Instead of journal and ledger, he runs away to his Virgil and Horace; his journal entries are all Pindarics, and his ledger is all heroics. He is truly dramatic from one end to the other through the whole scene of his trade; and as the first part is all comedy, so the two last acts are always made up with tragedy; a statute of bankrupt is his *exceunt omnes*, and he generally repeats the epilogue in the Fleet prison or the Mint." [See ante, vol. xvii.] He is also very severe against tradesmen who are led away into expensive pleasures and idle company. But Mr. Wilson vindicates De Foe, in some degree, by showing from his own statements that he had been the victim of the fraud of others, as well as of his own imprudent habits. In one of the Reviews, [vol. iii. p. 70.] he says, that "nothing was more frequent than for a man in full credit to buy all the goods he could lay his hands on, and carry them directly from the house he bought

An angry creditor took out a commission of bankruptcy, which was soon superseded on the petition of those to whom he was most indebted, who accepted a composition on his single bond. This he punctually paid by the efforts of unwearied diligence. But some of those creditors, who had been thus satisfied, falling afterwards into distress themselves, De Foe voluntarily paid them their whole claims, being then in rising circumstances from king William's favour¹. This is such an example of honesty as it would be unjust to De Foe and to the world to conceal. Being reproached in 1705 by lord Haversham with mercenariness, our author feelingly mentions ; "How, with a numerous family, and no helps but his own industry, he had forced his way with undiscouraged diligence, through a sea of misfortunes, and reduced his debts, exclusive of composition, from seventeen thousand to less than five thousand pounds^m." He continued to carry on the pantile works near Tilbury-fort, though probably with no great success. It was afterwards sarcastically said, that he did not, like the Egyptians, require bricks without straw, but, like the Jews, required bricks without paying his labourersⁿ. He

them at into the Fryars, and then send for his creditors, and laugh at them, insult them, showing them their own goods untouched, offer them a trifle in satisfaction, and if they refuse it, bid them defiance. I cannot refrain vouching this of my own knowledge, *since I have more than many times been served so myself*." Certainly under such a monstrous system of abuse, an honest tradesman must have been at great disadvantage.—Ed.

¹ The Mercator, No. 101.

^m Reply to Lord Haversham's Vindication.

ⁿ Mr. Wilson has some valuable observations on this subject, which justice to the memory of De Foe requires us to transcribe. "The failure of this speculation seems to have been owing rather to the want of encouragement upon the part of the public, than to any imprudence in the projector. Pantiles had been hitherto a Dutch manufacture, and were brought in

was born for other enterprises, which, if they did not gain him opulence, have conferred a renown that will descend the stream of time with the language wherein his works are written.

While he was yet under thirty, and had mortified no great man by his satire, or offended any party by his pamphlets, he had acquired friends by his powers of pleasing, who did not, with the usual instability of friendships, desert him amidst his distresses. They offered to settle him as a factor at Cadiz, where, as a trader, he had some previous corre-

large quantities to England. To supersede the necessity of their importation, and to provide a new channel for the employment of labour, the works at Tilbury were laudably erected; and De Foe tells us that he employed a hundred poor labourers in the undertaking. The capital embarked in the concern must also have been considerable; for he informs us that his own loss by its failure was no less a sum than three thousand pounds. But besides so serious a misfortune to himself, it was no less so to the public; not only by the failure of an ingenious manufacture, but for the sake of the numerous families supported by it, who were now turned adrift in the world, or thrown upon some other branch of trade. De Foe continued the pantile works it is believed until the year 1703, when he was prosecuted by the government for a libel, and being deprived of his liberty the undertaking soon came to an end." Mr. Wilson adds an extract from one of the Reviews. (March, 1705,) in which De Foe indignantly refers to this undertaking and its calamitous issue. "Nor should the author of this paper boast in vain, if he tells the world that he himself, before violence, injury, and barbarous treatment destroyed him and his undertaking, employed a hundred poor people in making pantiles in England, a manufacture always bought in Holland; and thus he pursued this principle with his utmost zeal for the good of England; and those gentlemen who so easily persecuted him for saying what all the world since owns to be true, and which he has since a hundred times offered to prove, were particularly serviceable to the nation, in turning that hundred of poor people and their families a begging for work, and forcing them to turn other poor families out of work to make room for them, besides three thousand pounds damage to the author of this, which he has paid for this little experience."—ED.

spondence. In this situation he might have procured business by his care, and accumulated wealth without a risk ; but, as he assures us in his old age, *Providence, which had other work for him to do, placed a secret aversion in his mind to quitting England*^o. He had confidence enough in his own talents to think, that on this field he could gather laurels, or at least gain a livelihood.

In a projecting age, as our author denominates king William's reign, he was himself a projector. While he was yet young, De Foe was prompted by a vigorous mind to think of many schemes, and to offer, what was most pleasing to the ruling powers, ways and means for carrying on the war. He wrote, as he says, many sheets about the coin ; he proposed a register for seamen, long before the act of parliament was thought of ; he projected county banks, and factories for goods ; he mentioned a proposal for a commission of inquiries into bankrupt's estates ; he contrived a pension-office for the relief of the poor^p. At length, in January 1696-7, he

^o The sentence in italics is part of the passage in De Foe's *Appeal to Honour and Justice*, (in which he gives a summary of his life, and vindicates his conduct throughout it,) which particularly refers to this period. We give the whole. " Misfortunes in business having unhinged me from matters of trade ; it was about the year 1694, when I was invited by some merchants with whom I had corresponded abroad, and some also at home, to settle at Cadiz, in Spain ; and that with the offer of very good commissions. But Providence, which had other work for me to do, placed a secret aversion in my mind to quitting England upon any account, and made me refuse the best offers of that kind, to be concerned with some eminent persons at home, in proposing ways and means to the government for raising money to supply the occasions of the war, then newly begun." [Vide *Appeal to Honour and Justice*.]

^p Besides the topics mentioned by Mr. Chalmers, De Foe suggests various improvements in road-making, and an asylum for idiots. He also warmly advocates a great improvement in the system of education, and especially of females. Before the

published his Essay upon Projects; which he dedicated to Dalby Thomas, not as a commissioner of glass duties, under whom he then served, or as a friend to whom he acknowledges obligations, but as to the most proper judge on the subject. It is always curious to trace a thought, in order to see where it first originated, or how it was afterwards expanded. Among other projects, which show a wide range of knowledge, he suggests to king William the imitation of Lewis XIV., in the establishment of a society "for encouraging polite learning, for refining the English language, and for preventing barbarisms of manners." Prior offered in 1700 the same project to king William, in his *Carmen Seculare*; Swift mentioned in 1710 to lord Oxford a proposal for improving the English tongue; and Tickell flatters himself in his Prospect of Peace, that "our daring language, shall sport no more in arbitrary sound." However his projects were taken, certain it is, that when De Foe ceased to be a trader, he was, by the interposition of Dalby Thomas probably, appointed, in 1695, accountant to the commissioners for managing the duties on glass; who, with our author, ceased to act on the 1st of

publication of the next work mentioned by Mr. Chalmers, De Foe took part in a controversy then very warmly agitated, viz., of Occasional Conformity. The Dissenters differed on this subject; one party being willing to comply outwardly with the ceremonies of the church, when in certain offices, and the other party objecting to that compliance as a sinful and dastardly desertion from their principles of dissent. De Foe adopted the latter view, and, in 1697, maintained it with his accustomed warmth, in *An Inquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters in Parliament*. He also vigorously took the field against the vices and social abuses of the times; and, in 1698, published *The Poor Man's Plea* in relation to all the Proclamations, Declarations, Acts of Parliament, &c., which have been or shall be made or published, for a Reformation of Manners, and suppressing Immorality in the Nation.—ED.

August, 1699, when the tax was suppressed by act of parliament^q.

From projects of ways and means, De Foe's ardour soon carried him into the thorny paths of satiric poetry; and his muse produced, in January, 1700-1, *The True-born Englishman*. Of the origin of this satire, which was the cause of much good fortune, but of some disasters, he gives himself the following account: During this time came out an abhorred pamphlet, in very ill verse, written by one Mr. Tutchin, and called *The Foreigners*; in which the author, who he was I then knew not, fell personally upon the king, then upon the Dutch nation, and, after having reproached his majesty with crimes that his worst enemies could not think of without horror, he sums up all in the odious name of *FOREIGNER*. This filled me with a kind of rage against the book, and gave birth to a trifle which I never could hope should have met with so general an acceptance. The sale was prodigious, and probably unexampled; as *Sacheverel's Trial* had not then appeared^r. *The True-born Englishman* was

^q 10 and 11 Wm. III. ch. 18.

^r De Foe says himself, that he had published nine editions fairly printed upon good paper, and sold at the price of one shilling, and that it had been printed twelve times by other persons without his concurrence. We must presume it to have produced a great effect. De Foe himself says, many years afterwards, "National mistakes, vulgar errors, and even a general practice, have been reformed by a just satire. None of our countrymen have been known to boast of being true-born Englishmen, or so much as to use the word as a title or appellation, ever since a late satire upon that national folly was published, though almost thirty years ago. Nothing was more frequent in our mouths before that, nothing so universally blushed and laughed at since. The time I believe is yet to come for any author to print it, or any man of sense to speak of it in earnest; whereas before you had it in the best writers, and in the most florid speeches before the most august assemblies, upon the most solemn occasions."

answered, paragraph by paragraph, in February, 1700-1, by a writer who brings haste to apologise for dulness. For this Defence of king William and the Dutch, which was doubtless circulated by detraction and by power, De Foe was amply rewarded. "How this poem was the occasion," says he, "of my being known to his majesty; how I was afterwards received by him; how employed abroad; and how, above my capacity of deserving, rewarded, is no part of the present case^s. Of the particulars, which the author thus declined to tell, nothing can now be told. It is only certain that he was admitted to personal interviews with the king,

[Use and Abuse of the Marriage Bed, p. 400.] The object of the poem is thus stated by the author in the preface: "The intent of the satire is pointed at the vanity of those who talk of their antiquity, and value themselves upon their pedigree, and being true-born; whereas it is impossible we should be true-born; and if we could, should have lost by the bargain. These sort of people who call themselves true-born, and tell long stories of their families, and like a nobleman of Venice, think a foreigner ought not to walk on the same side of the street with them, are owned to be meant in this satire. What they would infer from their long original, I know not, nor is it easy to make out, whether they are the better or the worse for their ancestors. Our English nation may value themselves for their wit, wealth, and courage, and I believe few nations will dispute it with them; but for long originals and ancient true-born families, I would advise them to waive the discourse. A true Englishman is one who deserves a character, and I have nowhere lessened him that I know of."—*Ed.*

^s p. 13. We add the remaining part of this passage, which is extracted by Mr. Chalmers from the Appeal to Honour and Justice; "And is only mentioned here as I take all occasions to do, for the expressing the honour I ever preserved for the immortal and glorious memory of that greatest and best of princes, and whom it was my honour and advantage to call master as well as sovereign, whose goodness to me I never forget, and whose memory I never patiently heard abused, and never can do so; and who, had he lived, would never have suffered me to be treated as I have been in this world."—*Ed.*

was then also that our author, who was transported by an equal attachment to the country and the court, published *The Original Power of the collective Body*

was a mistake, and it was delivered by the very person who wrote it, guarded by about sixteen gentlemen of quality, who if any notice had been taken of him, were ready to have carried him off by force." The Remonstrance is too long a paper to be here reprinted, but the general tone and object of it will be gathered by the conclusion. "We do hereby claim and declare:—

"1. That it is the undoubted right of the people of England, in case their representatives in parliament do not proceed according to their duty, and the people's interest, to inform them of their dislike, disown their actions, and direct them to such things as they think fit, either by petition, address, proposal, memorial, or any other peaceable way.

"2. That the house of commons, separately, and otherwise than by bill legally passed into an act, have no legal power to suspend or dispense with the laws of the land, any more than the king has by his prerogative.

"3. That the house of commons has no legal power to imprison any person, or commit them to custody of sergeants, or otherwise, (their own members excepted,) but ought to address the king, to cause any person, on good grounds, to be apprehended, which person so apprehended, ought to have the benefit of the Habeas Corpus act, and be fairly brought to trial by due course of law.

"4. That, if the house of commons, in breach of the laws and liberties of the people, do betray the trust reposed in them, and act negligently, or arbitrarily and illegally, it is the undoubted right of the people of England, to call them to an account for the same, and by convention, assembly, or force, may proceed against them as traitors and betrayers of their country.

"These things we think proper to declare, as the unquestionable right of the people of England, whom you serve, and in pursuance of that right, (avoiding the ceremony of petitioning our inferiors, for such you are by your present circumstances, as the person sent is less than the sender,) we do publicly protest against all your aforesaid illegal actions, and in the name of ourselves, and of all the good people of England, do require and demand:—

"1. That all the public just debts of the nation be forthwith paid and discharged.

"2. That all persons illegally imprisoned, as aforesaid, be

of the People of England examined and asserted.^v This timely treatise he dedicated to king William, in a dignified strain of nervous eloquence. "It is not the least of the extraordinaries of your majesty's character," says he, "that, as you are king of your

either immediately discharged, or admitted to bail, as by law they ought to be ; and the liberty of the subject recognised and restored.

"3. That John Home, aforesaid, be obliged to ask his majesty's pardon for his vile reflections, or be immediately expelled the house.

"4. That the growing power of France be taken into consideration ; the succession of the emperor to the crown of Spain supported ; our protestant neighbours protected, as the interest of England and the protestant religion requires.

"5. That the French king be obliged to quit Flanders, or his majesty be addressed to declare war against him.

"6. That suitable supplies be granted to his majesty for the putting all these necessary things in execution, and that care be taken that such taxes as are raised, may be more equally assessed and collected, and scandalous deficiencies prevented.

"7. That the thanks of this house may be given to those gentlemen who so gallantly appeared in the behalf of their country with the Kentish petition, and have been so scandalously used for it.

"Thus, gentlemen, you have your duty laid before you, which it is hoped you will think of ; but if you continue to neglect it, you may expect to be treated according to the resentment of an injured nation ; for Englishmen are no more to be slaves to parliaments, than to kings.

"Our name is Legion, and we are Many."

De Foe seems to have written a History of the Kentish Petition. And in the following year, 1702, he is supposed to have written Legion's Newspaper ; being a Second Memorial to the Gentlemen of the late House of Commons.—ED.

^v This pamphlet was in reply to sir Humphrey Mackworth's Vindication of the Rights of the Commons of England ; and recent events, arising out of Stockdale's proceedings against Mr. Hansard for publishing a report of the house of commons, have made both sir Humphrey's and De Foe's pamphlets extremely interesting to the political world. De Foe maintains four general propositions as the foundation of his argument.

1. "That all government is instituted for the protection of the governed. "2. That its constituent members, whether king,

people, so you are the people's king; a title, which, as it is the most glorious, so it is the most indisputable." To the lords and commons he addresses himself in a similar tone: The vindication of the original right of all men to the government of themselves, he tells them, is so far from being a derogation

lords, or commons, if they invert the great end of their institution, the public good, cease to be; and power retreats to its original.

"3. That no collective or representative body of men whatever, in matters of politics or religion, have been infallible.

"4. That reason is the test and touchstone of laws, which cease to be binding, and become void, when contradictory to reason." He also maintains that no power has a right to dispense with the laws, and deduces that when such a right is assumed by either of the three powers, the constitution suffers a convulsion, and is dissolved of course. This tract has had considerable reputation. Mr. Wilson tells us, "that during the contest between the house of commons and the celebrated Mr. Wilkes, who was refused his seat, although repeatedly returned by his constituents, it was judged seasonable to reprint this work. It was accordingly published in 8vo. in 1769, by R Baldwin, accompanied by some distinguished characters of a parliament man, by the same author, and is stated in the title-page to be the third edition. Prefixed to the work is a spirited dedication to the right honourable the lord mayor, the aldermen, and commons, of the city of London." [The dedication, amongst other things, states, "the reprinting of this excellent piece of the celebrated Daniel De Foe, who seems to have understood as well as any man the civil constitution of the kingdom, wherein the nature of our own constitution is set in the clearest light, upon self-evident principles, and the original power of the collective body of the people asserted, seemed to be altogether seasonable and fitting. It is with propriety addressed to the body of men which has always stood, like Mars in the gap, against all encroachments on the liberties of the people, and to which the nation hitherto owes its freedom and prosperity," &c.] The chief magistrate at that time was the patriotic alderman Beckford, who has a noble statue erected by his fellow-citizens in their Guildhall, to commemorate his worth. De Foe's work was reprinted, for the fourth time, at the logographic press, and included in the "Selection" from his writings published by the late Mr. John Walker, in 1790. [Life of De Foe, vol. i. p. 436.]

from, that it is a confirmation of their legal authority. Every lover of liberty must be pleased with the perusal of a treatise, which vies with Mr. Locke's famous tract in powers of reasoning, and is superior to it in the graces of style.

At a time when "union and charity, the one relating to our civil, and the other to our religious concerns, were strangers in the land," De Foe published *The Freeholder's Plea against Stockjobbing Elections of Parliament men*². "It is very rational to suppose," says our author, "that they who will buy will sell; or, what seems more rational, they who have bought must sell." This is certainly a persuasive performance, though we may suppose, that many voters were influenced then by arguments still more persuasive. And he concludes with a

² This pamphlet was published before the events mentioned in the preceding paragraph of the text. It was preceded by another pamphlet of our indefatigable author, entitled, *Six Distinguishing Characters of a Parliamentman*. As the pamphlets of De Foe illustrate not only the character of the author, but the spirit of the times, we give a summary of the 'Distinguishing characteristics' of the member of the house, desired by De Foe. 1. He must be a thorough partisan of the revolution, neither papist nor Jacobite. 2. A man of religion, of orthodox principles, and moral practice. 3. "A parliament man" says the sensible and experienced author, "ought to be a man of general knowledge, acquainted with the true interest of his country as to trade, liberties, laws, and common circumstances, especially of that part of it for which he serves. He ought to know how to deliver his mind with freedom and boldness, and pertinently to the case; to understand when our liberties are encroached upon, and be able to defend them: and to distinguish between a prince, who is faithful to liberty, and the interest of his country, and one whose business it is to invade both liberty and property." 4. He should be a man in years. 5. And of thorough honesty. 6. And of morals. This pamphlet was followed by the one mentioned in the text, and that again almost immediately by *The Villany of Stockjobbers detected*; and the *Cause of the late Run upon the Banks and Bankers discovered and considered*.—ED.

sentiment, which has not been too often repeated, That nothing can make us formidable to our neighbours, and maintain the reputation of our nation, but union among ourselves.

How much soever king William may have been pleased with The True-born Englishman, or with other services, he was little gratified probably by our author's Reasons against a War with France. This argument, showing that the French king's owning the prince of Wales as king of England, is no sufficient ground of a war, is one of the finest, because it is one of the most useful, tracts in the English language^a. After remarking the universal cry of the people for war, our author declares he is not against war with France, provided it be on justifiable grounds; but, he hopes, England will never be so inconsiderable a nation, as to make use of dishonest pretences to bring to pass any of her designs; and he wishes that he who desires we should end the war honourably, ought to desire also that we begin it fairly. "But if we must have a war," our author hoped, "it might be wholly on the defensive, in Flanders, in order to carry on hostilities in remote places, where the damage may be greater, by wounding the Spaniard in some weaker part; so as upon a peace he shall be glad to quit Flanders for an equivalent." Who at present does not wish that De Foe's argument had been more studiously read, and more efficaciously admitted?

^a The author of De Foe's life in the *Biographia Britannica*, Dr. Towers, says, "in this piece De Foe wrote against the views and conduct of the court, and against what then seemed to be the prevailing sentiment of the nation. He appears however to have been perfectly right, to have exhibited on this occasion great political discernment, and to have been influenced by no motives but those of public spirit." Many opponents entered the field against De Foe upon this subject.—ED.

A scene of sorrow soon after opened, which probably embittered our author's future life. The death of king William deprived him of a protector, who, he says, trusted, esteemed, and much more valued him than he deserved: and who, as he flattered himself amidst his later distresses, would never have suffered him to be treated as he had been in the world. Of that monarch's memory, he says, that he never patiently heard it abused, nor ever could do so; and in this gratitude to a royal benefactor there is surely much to praise, but nothing to blame ^b.

^b De Foe frequently vindicates the memory of William III., but more especially in his Reviews. In 1702, he published *The Mock Mourners*, a satire by way of elegy on king William. By the author of the *True-born Englishman*. De Foe's summary of William III.'s character in the reviews is as follows:—

“It may, perhaps, be thought by some people a digression too remote from my present pursuit, when I launch out into the crimes of a party; but, if I am carried into extremes when the memory of king William is touched, I am altogether careless of making an excuse; and I acknowledge myself less master of my temper in that case, than in anything I can be touched in besides. The memory of that glorious monarch is so dear, and so valuable in the hearts of all true protestants, that have a sense both of what they escaped and what they enjoy by his hand, that it is difficult to retain any charity for their principles that can forget the obligation. His name is a word of congratulation; and ‘The immortal memory of king William,’ will be a health, as long as drinking healths is suffered in this part of the world.

“Let the ungrateful wretch that forgets what God wrought by his hand, look back upon popery coming in like a flood; property trampled under foot; all sorts of cruelties and butcheries in practice in Scotland, and approaching in England! Let him review the insolence of the soldiery, the inveteracy of the court party, the tyranny, perjury, and avarice of governors; and at the foot of the account let him write, *Delivered by king William*. Then let him look back on the prince: How great, how splendid, how happy, how rich, how easy, and how justly valued by friends and enemies! He lived before in the field glorious, feared by enemies of his country, loved by the soldiery, having

In the midst of that furious contest of party, civil and religious, which ensued on the accession of queen Anne, our author was no unconcerned spectator. He reprinted his *Inquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters*^c, which had been published in 1697, with a dedication to sir Humphrey Edwin, a lord mayor, who having carried the regalia to a conventicle, gave rise to some wit in *The Tale of a Tub*, and occasioned some clauses in an act of parliament. De Foe now dedicated his *Inquiry* to John How, a dissenting minister, of whom Anthony Wood speaks well. Mr. How did

a vast inheritance of his own, governor of a rich state, blessed with the best of consorts, and as far as this life could give, completely happy. Compare this with the gaudy crown we gave him. Had a visible scheme been laid with it, of all the uneasinesses, dangers, crosses, disappointments, and dark prospects which that prince found with it, no wise man would have taken it off the dunghill, or come out of gaol to be master of it.

“Unhappy Englishmen! Is this the man you reproach? Had he any failing but that he bare too much with the most barbarous usage in the world? Had he not the most merit and the worst treatment that ever king in England met with?

“Who can hear men tell us, they helped to make him king, and were not considered for it? You helped to make him king! Pray what merit do you plead, and from whom was the debt? You helped to make him king? That is, you helped to save your country, and ruin him; you helped to recover your own liberties and those of your posterity, as you ought to have been blasted from heaven if you had not, and now you claim rewards from him! I will tell you how he rewarded you fully: he rewarded you by sacrificing his peace, his comfort, his fortune, and his country, to support you. He died a thousand times in the chagrin, vexation, and perplexity he had from the unkindness and treachery of his friends, and the numberless hazards of the field against the enemy. And yet all would not satisfy a craving generation, an insatiable party, who thought all the taxes raised for the war, given, not to the nation, but to the king, and endeavoured to blot the best character in the world with the crimes of those whom they themselves recommended him to trust.” [Review, 1707, vol. iv. p. 77.]

^c See note P, p. 11-12.

not much care, says Calamy^d, to enter upon an argument of that nature with one of so warm a temper as the author of that Inquiry, and contented himself with publishing some Considerations on the Preface of an Inquiry concerning the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters. De Foe's pertinacity soon produced a reply^e. He outlaughed and outtalks Mr. How, who had provoked his antagonist's wrath by personal sarcasms, and who now thought it hard that the old should be shoved off the stage by the young. De Foe reprobates, with the unforbearance of the times, "this fast and loose game of religion;" for which he had never met with any considerable excuse but this, "that this is no conformity in point of religion, but done as a civil action." He soon after published another Inquiry, in order to show, that the dissenters are no ways concerned in occasional conformity. The controversy, which in those days occasioned such vehement contests between the two houses of parliament, is probably silenced for ever.

"During the first fury of high-flying," says he "I fell a sacrifice for writing against the madness of that high party, and in the service of the dissenters." He alludes here to *The Shortest Way*; which he published towards the end of the year 1702; and which is a piece of exquisite irony, though there are certainly passages in it that might have shown considerate men how much the author had been in jest. He complains how hard it was, that this should not have been perceived by all the town, and that not one man can see it, either churchman or dissenter. This is one of the strongest proofs how much the minds of men were inflamed against

^d Life of Mr. John How, p. 210.

^e A Letter to Mr. How, by way of Reply to his Considerations, &c. 1701.

each other, and how little the virtues of mutual forbearance and personal kindness existed amid the clamour of contradiction, which then shook the kingdom, and gave rise to some of the most remarkable events in our annals^f. The commons

^f De Foe afterwards described the effect produced by this book. "The soberer churchmen, whose principles were founded on charity, and who had their eye upon the laws and constitution of their country, as that to which their own liberties were annexed, though they still believed the book to be written by a high-churchman, yet openly exclaimed against the proposal, condemned the warmth that appeared in the clergy against their brethren, and openly professed that such a man as Sacheverel and his brethren would blow up the foundations of the church. But either side had scarce time to discover their sentiments, when the book appeared to have been written by a dissenter; that it was designed in derision of the standard held up by Sacheverel and others; that it was a satire upon the fury of the churchmen, and a plot to make the rest discover themselves. Nothing was more strange than to see the effect upon the whole nation which this little book, a contemptible pamphlet of but three sheets of paper, had, and in so short a time too. The most forward, hot, and furious, as well among the clergy as others, blushed when they reflected how far they had applauded the book; raged that such an abuse should be put upon the church; and as they were obliged to damn the book, so they were strangely hampered between the doing so, and pursuing the rage at the dissenters. The greater part, the better to qualify themselves to condemn the author, came earnestly in to condemn the principle; for it was impossible to do one without the other. They laboured incessantly, both in print and in pulpit, to prove that this was a horrible slander upon the church. But this still answered the author's end the more; for they could never clear the church of the slander, without openly condemning the practice; nor could they possibly condemn the practice without censuring those clergymen who had gone such a length already as to say the same thing in print. Nor could all their rage at the author of that book contribute anything to clear them, but still made the better side the worse. It was plain they had owned the doctrine, had preached up the necessity of expelling and rooting out the dissenters in their sermons and printed pamphlets; that it was evident they had applauded the book itself, till they

showed their zeal, however they may have studied their dignity, by prosecuting^s several libellists.

During the previous twenty years of his life, De Foe had busied himself unconsciously in charging a mine, which now blew himself and his family into air. He had fought for Monmouth; he had opposed king James; he had vindicated the Revolution; he had panegyrised king William; he had defended the rights of the collective body of the people; he had displeased the treasurer and the general, by objecting to the Flanders' war; he had bantered sir Edward Seymour, and sir Christopher Musgrave, the tory leaders of the commons; he had just ridiculed all the high-fliers in the kingdom; and he was at length obliged to seek for shelter from the indignation of persons and parties, thus overpowering and resistless.

A proclamation was issued in January, 1702-3^h,

knew the author; and there was no other way to prevent the odium falling on the whole body of the church of England, but by giving up the authors of those mad principles, and openly professing moderate principles themselves." [Present State of Parties, p. 18.]

^s On the 25th of February, 1702-3, a complaint was made in the house of commons, of a book entituled *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*: and the folios 11-18 and 26 being read, resolved, That this book, being full of false and scandalous reflections on this parliament, and tending to promote sedition, be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, tomorrow, in New Palace-yard. 14 Jour. p. 207.

^h He who is desirous of reading the proclamation, may be gratified by the following copy from the London gazette, No. 3879:—

“St. James's, Jan. 10th, 1702-3.

“Whereas Daniel De Foe, *alias* De Fooe, is charged with writing a scandalous and seditious pamphlet, entituled *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*: he is a middle-sized spare man, about forty years old, of a brown complexion, and dark-brown coloured hair, but wears a wig, a hooked nose, a sharp

offering a reward of fifty pounds for discovering his retreat. De Foe was described by the gazette, "as a middle-sized spare man, about forty years old, of a brown complexion, and dark brown hair, though he wears a wig, having a hook nose, a sharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth."

He soon published *An Explanation*; though he "wonders to find there should be any occasion for it." "But since ignorance," says he, "has led most men to a censure of the book, and some people are like to come under the displeasure of the government for it; in justice to those who are in danger to suffer by it; in submission to the parliament and council, who may be offended at it; and courtesy to all mistaken people, who, it seems, have not penetrated into the real design, the author presents the world with the genuine meaning of the paper, which he hopes may allay the anger of government, or at least satisfy the minds of such as imagine a design to inflame and divide us¹". Nei-

chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth; was born in London, and for many years was a hose-factor, in Freeman's-yard, in Cornhill, and now is owner of the brick and pantile works near Tilbury-fort, in Essex: whoever shall discover the said Daniel De Foe to one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state, or any of her majesty's justices of peace, so as he may be apprehended, shall have a reward of fifty pounds, which her majesty has ordered immediately to be paid upon such discovery."

¹The next paragraph of the passage further explains De Foe's object. "The 'Sermon preached at Oxford,' the 'New Association,' the 'Poetical Observator,' with numberless others, have said the same things in terms very little darker; and this book stands fair to let these gentlemen know, that what they design can no further take with mankind, than as their real meaning stands disguised by artifice of words; but that, when the persecution and destruction of the dissenters, the very thing they drive at, is put into plain English, the whole nation will start

ther his submissiveness to the ruling powers, nor his generosity to his printers, was a sufficient shield from the resentment of his enemies. He was found guilty of a libel, sentenced to the pillory, and adjudged to be fined and imprisoned^k. Thus, as he acknowledges, was he a second time ruined ; and by this affair, as he asserts, he lost above £3,500 sterling, which consisted probably in his brick works, and in the more abundant product of his pen.

When by these means, immured in Newgate, our author consoled himself with the animating reflection, that, having meant well, he unjustly suffered.

other notions, and condemn the author to be hanged for his impudence. He humbly hopes, he shall find no harder treatment for plain English without design, than those gentlemen for their plain design, in duller and darker English. The meaning then of the paper is, in short, to tell these gentlemen that it is nonsense to go round about and tell us of the crimes of the dissenters, to prepare the world to believe they are not fit to live in a human society ; that they are enemies to the government and the laws, to the queen, and the public peace, and the like ; the shortest way and the soonest, would be to tell us plainly, that they would have them all hanged, banished, and destroyed."

^k At his trial he was treated by the then attorney-general, sir Simon Harcourt, in the style of sir Edward Coke. He complained himself bitterly of the conduct of his own counsel. He was sentenced to pay a fine of two hundred marks to the queen, to stand three times in the pillory, be imprisoned during the queen's pleasure, and find sureties for his good behaviour during seven years ! Well may the learned and candid biographer, in the *Biographia Britannia*, exclaim, "The very infamous sentence reflected much more dishonour upon the court by which it was pronounced, than upon De Foe upon whom it was inflicted." But when he stood in the pillory, instead of suffering an ignominious punishment, he appears rather to have enjoyed a striking triumph. He says, "The people, who were expected to treat him very ill, on the contrary, pitied him, and wished those who set him there were placed in his room, and expressed their affections by loud shouts and acclamations when he was taken down." [Consolidator.]

He had a mind too active to be idle in the solitude of a prison, which is seldom invaded by visitors. And he wrote a hymn to the pillory, that—

Hieroglyphic state machine,
Contrived to punish fancy in.

In this ode the reader will find satire, pointed by his sufferings; generous sentiments, arising from his situation; and an unexpected flow of easy verse. For example:

The first intent of laws
Was to correct the effect, and check the cause.
And all the ends of punishment
Were only future mischiefs to prevent:
But justice is inverted, when
Those engines of the law,
Instead of pinching vicious men,
Keep honest ones in awe¹.

He employed this involuntary leisure in correcting for the press a collection of his writings, which, with several things he had no hand in, had been already published by a piratical printer. He thought it a most unaccountable boldness in him to print that particular book called *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, while he lay under the public resentment for the same fact. In this collection of 1703, there are one-and-twenty treatises in poetry and prose, beginning with *The True-born English-*

¹ The Hymn was published in 1703, and ran rapidly through several editions. In 1702, before his prosecution, he published a satiric poem on the vices of the age, entitled "*Reformation of Manners*." During his imprisonment, he continued the subject in another poem, entitled, "*More Reformation. A Satire upon himself*."—ED.

man, and ending with *The Shortest Way to Peace and Union*. To this volume there was prefixed the first print of De Foe; to which was afterwards added, the apt inscription : *Laudatur et alget*^m.

^m The collection contains the following pieces: 1. *The True-born Englishman*. 2. *The Mock Mourners*. 3. *Reformation of Manners*. 4. *Character of Dr. Annesley*. 5. *The Spanish Descent*. 6. *Original Power of the People of England*. 7. *The Freeholders' Plea*. 8. *Reasons against a War with France*. 9. *Argument on a Standing Army*. 10. *Danger of the Protestant Religion*. 11. *Villany of Stock-jobbers*. 12. *Six Distinguishing Characters of a Parliament Man*. 13. *Poor Man's Plea*. 14. *Inquiry into Occasional Conformity*; with a Preface to Mr. Hôw. 15. *Letter to Mr. How*, by way of Reply to his *Considerations on the Preface*. 16. *Two Great Questions considered*. 17. *Two Great Questions further considered*. 18. *Inquiry into Occasional Conformity*. 19. *New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty*. 20. *Shortest Way with the Dissenters*. 21. *Brief Explanation of the Shortest Way*. 22. *Shortest Way to Peace and Union*. In the year 1705, another and fuller edition of his works was published. In 1703, and before the publication of the *Review*, next referred to by Mr. Chalmers, De Foe wrote *More Short Ways with the Dissenters*, a pamphlet chiefly intended to vindicate the system of education then pursued among the dissenters, and which had been impugned for its alleged disloyalty by the Rev. Samuel Wesley. It was int his work that De Foe so generously alluded to his old master, Mr. Morton, in the passage we have referred to, *supra*, p. 3, note ^b. During his confinement he engaged with his usual warmth in the controversies of that time. The old dispute of Occasional Conformity still occupied him. He replied to Mr. Owen's pamphlet, *Moderation a Virtue, &c.*, in *The Sincerity of the Dissenters vindicated from the Scandal of Occasional Conformity*; with some *Considerations on a late book, entituled, Moderation a Virtue*. 1703. Several other controvertists took the field. In the course of the same year, anxious to put an end if possible to the furious disputes between the church and dissenters, he published, *A Challenge of Peace*, addressed to the whole Nation, with an *Inquiry into Ways and Means of bringing it to pass*; and afterwards replied to sir Humphrey Mackworth's *Peace at Home*, in a pamphlet entituled, *Peace without Union*. He also reasserted the great principles advocated in his former work on the *Original Power of the People*, in an

In the solitariness of a gaol, the energy of De Foe projected the Review. This is a periodical paper in 4to, which was first published on the 19th of February, 1703-4; and which was intended to treat of news, foreign and domestic; of politics, British and European; of trade, particular and universal. But our author foresaw, from the natural aversion of the age to any tedious affair, that however profitable, the world would never read, if it were not diverting. With this design, both instructive and amusing, he skilfully institutes a Scandal Club, which discusses questions in divinity, morals, war, trade, language, poetry, love, marriage, drunkenness, and gaming. Thus, it is easy to see, that the Review pointed the way to the Tatlers, Spectators, and Guardians, which may be allowed, however, to have treated those interesting topics with more delicacy of humour, more terseness of style, and greater depth of learning; yet has De Foe many passages, both of prose and poetry, which, for refinement of wit, neatness of expression, and

other published in 1704, which he called *Original Right: or the Reasonableness of Appeals to the People: being an Answer to the First Chapter in Dr. Davenant's Essays, entituled, Peace at Home and War Abroad.* In this same year, 1704, he had again to vindicate the dissenters, which he did in his pamphlet, *The Dissenters' Answer to the High Church Challenge*; and honoured the memory of his royal benefactor, William III., by bearing his testimony to his religious principles, which he did in a pamphlet entitled, *Royal Religion.* He also maintained the claims of the Scotch dissenters, in a pamphlet called *The Liberty of Episcopal Dissenters in Scotland truly stated*, 1703. And he had to wield his unwearied pen on behalf of the Irish dissenters, against a bill introduced avowedly to prevent the growth of popery, in which were contained some stringent provisions against the protestant dissenters. De Foe ironically headed his pamphlet, *The Parallel: or Persecution of Protestants the Shortest Way to prevent the Growth of Popery in Ireland.* 1704.—ED.

efficacy of moral, would do honour to Steele or to Addison. Of all this was Johnson unconscious, when he speaks of the Tatlers and Spectators as the first English writers who had undertaken to reform either the savageness of neglect, or the impertinence of civility ; to show when to speak, or to be silent ; how to refuse, or how to comply ⁿ.

ⁿ Mr. Wilson observes of the Review, " That it did not outlive its day, may be attributed to the great proportion of temporary matter with which it abounded. There are to be found in its pages, however, many instructive pieces of a moral and political nature, besides others devoted to amusement, and also some useful historical documents. A complete copy of the work is not known to be in existence. It deserves to be remarked that De Foe was the sole writer of the nine quarto volumes that compose the work, a prodigious undertaking for one man, especially when we consider his other numerous engagements of a literary nature." Mr. Wilson then refers to an able eulogium by Dr. Drake. [Essays on the Tatler, vol. i. p. 23.] " Contemporary with Leslie's Remains, came forward, under a periodical dress, and of a kind far superior to anything which had hitherto appeared, the Review of Daniel De Foe, a man of undoubted genius, and who, deviating from the accustomed route, had chalked out a new path for himself. The chief topics were as usual, news foreign and domestic, and politics ; to these, however, were added the various concerns of trade ; and to render the undertaking more palatable and popular, he with much judgment instituted what he termed, perhaps with no great propriety, a 'Scandal Club,' and whose amusement it was to agitate questions in divinity, morals, war, language, poetry, love, marriage, &c. The introduction of this club, and the subjects of its discussion, it is obvious approximated the Review much nearer than any preceding work to our first classical model." The first number of the Review was published Feb. 19th, 1704, as *A Weekly Review of the Affairs of France, purged from the Errors and Partiality of Newswriters and Petty Statesmen of all sides*. It was at first a weekly publication, but afterwards came out twice a week, as it was changed to half a sheet from a whole one. The price was one penny. Mr. Wilson, in his valuable *Life of De Foe*, gives long extracts from the Review, a work, he observes, now very difficult to be met with. " A considerable portion of the first volume," observes that gentleman, " is devoted to foreign

In the midst of these labours our author published, in July, 1704, *The Storm*; or, a Collection of the most remarkable Casualties, which happened in the tempest, on the 23rd of November, 1703°.

politics, more particularly the power and grandeur of the French monarchy, for the reduction of which within reasonable limits the principal nations of Europe were then embroiled in an expensive war. In estimating the powers and resources of France, which had attained their summit under Louis XIV., he was anxious to guard his countrymen against the folly of despising such an enemy." Mr. Wilson then gives copious and interesting extracts from the *Review*, to which we must refer the reader to his able biography. [vol. ii. ch. 10.] The volume closed in one hundred and two numbers, in February, 1705, and had the following title prefixed: *A Review of the Affairs of France, and of all Europe, as influenced by that Nation: being Historical Observations on the Public Transactions of the World; purged from the Errors and Partiality of Newswriters and Petty Statesmen of all sides. With an Entertaining Part in every sheet; being Advice from the Scandal Club to the Curious Inquirers, in answer to Letters sent them for that purpose.*

° The following is the account of this storm by a contemporary historian:—

"About the middle of the night, a violent wind arose, which blew down the steeples of churches, tore off the tiles, and rolled up the leads of houses, tossing them through the air to great distances, rooted up the largest trees, or broke them off short, carried hayricks and stacks of corn to great heights, scattered them abroad, and beat down the chimneys in divers places, to the destruction of many people in the towns. The ships which lay in the mouth of the Thames and other parts, were driven foul of one another. The sailors, not knowing what to avoid, or which way to steer, abandoned themselves to despair, expecting every moment to be their last. Some ships having broke their cables, and lost their anchors, drove before the wind, without helm or steerage, and either dashed one another to pieces, or were swallowed up in the raging deep. Some were driven out to sea, without any rigging; and others run upon the sands, rocks, and shores. The admiral was driven to sea without mast or anchor, from the Downs, and lost together with his ship; and other ships which had been in his squadron were driven to the coast of Holland in five hours' time, with their masts broken, without any art or direction,

In explaining the natural causes of winds De Foe shows more science, and in delivering the opinions of the ancients that this island was more subject to storms than other parts of the world, he displays more literature than he has been generally supposed to possess. Our author is moreover entitled to yet higher praise. He seized that awful occasion to inculcate the fundamental truths of religion ; the being of a God, the superintendency of Providence, the certainty of heaven and hell, the one to reward, the other to punish.

While, as he tells himself, he lay friendless in the prison of Newgate, his family ruined, and himself without hopes of deliverance, a message was brought him from a person of honour, whom till that time he had not the least knowledge of. This was no less a person than sir Robert Harley, the speaker of the house of commons. Harley approved probably of the principles and conduct of De Foe, and doubtless foresaw, that, during a factious age, such a genius could be converted to many uses. And he sent a verbal message to the prisoner, desiring to know what he could do for him. Our author readily wrote the story of the blind man in the gospel ; concluding—*Lord, that I may receive my sight.*

When the highfliers were driven from the station which enabled them to inflame rather than

and others to other places. The watch-towers, with the watchmen, were overthrown together ; and the destruction which this storm occasioned was long remembered with awe and horror. In the space of one tempestuous night, a gallant English fleet was reduced to nothing : and it is incredible what a dismal appearance there was at London and other towns. The mathematicians observed that the force of this tempest did not extend further south than the river Loire, in France, nor further north than the river Trent, in England.“ [Cunningham, vol. i. p. 356.]

conciliate, Harley became secretary of state, in April, 1704. He had now frequent opportunities of representing the unmerited sufferings of De Foe to the queen and to the treasurer; yet our author continued four months longer in gaol. The queen, however, inquired into his circumstances; and lord Godolphin sent, as he thankfully acknowledges, a considerable sum to his wife, and to him money to pay his fine and the expense of his discharge. Here is the foundation, says he, on which he built his first sense of duty to the queen, and the indelible bond of gratitude to his first benefactor. "Let any one say, then," he asks, "what I could have done, less or more than I have done for such a queen and such a benefactor?" All this he manfully avowed to the world^p, when queen Anne lay lifeless and cold as king William, his first patron; and when Oxford, in the vicissitude of party, had been persecuted by faction, and overpowered, though not conquered, by violence.

Such was the high interposition by which De Foe was relieved from Newgate, in August, 1704. In order to avoid the town-talk, he retired immediately to St. Edmund's Bury: but his retreat did not prevent persecution. Dyer, the newswriter, propagated that De Foe had fled from justice. Fox, the bookseller, published that he had deserted his security. Stephen, a state-messenger, everywhere said, that he had a warrant for seizing him. This I suppose was wit, during the witty age of Anne. In our duller days of law, such outrages would be referred to the judgment of a jury. De Foe informed the secretary of state where he was, and when he would appear; but he was told not to fear, as he had not transgressed. Notwithstand-

^p By his Appeal, in 1715.

ing this vexation, our author's muse produced, on the 29th of August, 1704, A Hymn to Victory, when the successful skill of Marlborough furnished our poets with many occasions to publish Gazettes in Rhyme ^a.

De Foe opened the year 1704-5 with his Double Welcome to the duke of Marlborough ; disclaiming any expectation of place or pension. His encomiastic strains, I fear, were not heard while he wrote like an honest Englishman, against the continuance of the war ; a war indeed of personal glory, of national celebration, but of fruitless expense. De Foe's activity, or his needs, produced in March, 1705, The Consolidator ; or, Memoirs of Sundry Transactions, from the World in the Moon. It was one of De Foe's felicities to catch the 'living manners as they rose,' or one of his resources, to 'shoot folly as it flew.' In the lunar language he applies his satiric file to the prominences of every character : of the poets, from Dryden to Durfy ; of the wits, from Addison to Prior ; of the metaphysicians, from Malbranche to Hobbes ; of the freethinkers, from Asgyl to the Tale of a Tub. Our author continually complains of the ill usage of the world ; but with all his acuteness he did not advert, that he who attacks the world, will be by the world attacked. He makes the lunar politicians debate the policy of Charles XII. in pursuing the Saxons and Poles, while the Muscovites ravaged his own peo-

^a Before the publication of this Hymn, he published a poem on himself, An Elegy on the Author of the True-born Englishman. In the preface to this poem he bitterly complains of the slanders to which he was constantly subject. He might have reflected, however, that such a fate was unavoidable to a political writer in those factious times ; and that the more independent the author, the more likely he was to be exposed to the double shafts of partisan malice.—ED.

ple. I doubt whether it were on this occasion that the Swedish ambassador was so ill-advised as to complain against De Foe, for merited ridicule of a futile warfare^r. They had not then discovered, that the best defence against the shafts of satire is to let them fly. Our author's sentiment was expanded by Johnson, in those energetic lines, which thus conclude the character of the Swedish Charles :

“Who left the name, at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral, or adorn a tale.”

De Foe was so little disturbed by the appearance of *The Moon Calf*^s, or accurate *Reflections* on the *Consolidator*, that he plunged into a controversy with sir Humphrey Mackworth about his bill for employing the poor. This had been passed by the commons with great applause, but received by the peers with suitable caution. De Foe, considering this plausible project as an indigested chaos, represented it, through several reviews, as a plan which would ruin the industrious, and thereby augment the poor. Sir Humphrey endeavoured to support his work-houses, in every parish, with a parochial capital for carrying on parochial manufacture. This drew from De Foe his admirable treatise, which he entitled, *Giving Alms no Charity*. As an English freeholder he claimed it as a right to address his performance to the house of commons, having a particular interest in the common good ; but considering the persons before whom he appeared, he laid down his archness, and assumed his dignity. He

^r It was *not* on this occasion, but for one of the *Reviews* published in 1707, in which. he criticises the apparent supineness of Charles XII.—ED.

^s The title of a pamphlet published by a Dr. Browne.

maintained, with wonderful knowledge of fact and power of argument, the following positions: 1st, That there is in England more labour than hands to perform it; and consequently a want of people, not of employment: 2ndly, No man in England, of sound limbs and senses, can be poor merely for want of work: 3rdly, All workhouses for employing the poor, as now they are employed, serve to the ruin of families and the increase of the poor: 4thly, It is a regulation of the poor that is wanted, not a setting them to work. Longer experience shows this to be a difficult subject, which increases in difficulty with the effluxion of time^t.

De Foe had scarcely dismissed sir Humphrey, when he introduced lord Haversham, a peer, who is famous in our story, as a maker and publisher of speeches. His lordship published his speech on the state of the nation, in 1705, which was cried about the town with unusual earnestness. Our author's prudence induced him to give no answer to the speech; but a pamphlet, which was hawked about the streets and sold for a penny, our author's shrewdness considered as a challenge to every reader. He laughed and talked so much, through several Reviews, about this factious effusion, as to provoke a defence of topics, which his lordship ought neither to have printed nor spoken. De Foe

^t The recent discussion of the Poor Law Amendment Act has thrown much additional light on this question. During this year, in addition to the works mentioned by Mr. Chalmers, De Foe advocated the rights of Dissenters in the colony of Carolina, in America, where they had been hardly treated; first deprived of a seat in the house of assembly, and then subjected to stringent laws. De Foe, while their affairs were being made matter of discussion in parliament, published *Party Tyranny*; or an *Occasional Bill in Miniature*, as now practised in Carolina. Humbly offered to the Consideration of both Houses of Parliament.—ED.

now published a Reply to Lord Haversham's Vindication of his Speech. During such battles the town never fails to cheer the smaller combatant. Our author, with an allusion to the biography of both, says sarcastically: "But fate, that makes foot-balls of men, kicks some up stairs, and some down; some are advanced without honour, others suppressed without infamy; some are raised without merit, some are crushed without a crime; and no man knows by the beginning of things, whether his course shall issue in a peerage or a pillory^u."

^u The motion of lord Haversham in the house of lords, was to request the queen to invite over the presumptive heir to the crown, which would have produced the mischief of two rival courts. De Foe in this pamphlet gives us one of those passages so extremely interesting, being a sketch of his own life by himself. "If I were to run through the black list of the encouragements I have met with in the world, while I have embarked myself in the raging sea of the nation's troubles, this vindication would be ashamed to call them encouragements. How, in pursuit of peace, I have brought myself into innumerable broils; how many, exasperated by the sting of truth, have vowed my destruction; and how many ways attempted it; how I stand alone in the world, abandoned by those very people that own I have done them service; how I am sold and betrayed by friends, abused and cheated by barbarous and unnatural relations, sued for other men's debts, and stripped naked by public injustice, of what should have enabled me to pay my own; how, with a numerous family, and with no helps but my own industry, I have forced my way with undiscouraged diligence, through a sea of debt and misfortune, and reduced them, exclusive of composition, from seventeen to less than five thousand pounds; how, in gaols, in retreats, in all manner of extremities, I have supported myself without the assistance of friends or relations; how I still live without this Vindicator's suggested methods, and am so far from making my fortune by this way of *scribbling*, that no man more desires a limitation and regulation of the press than myself; especially that speeches in parliament might not be printed without order of parliament, and poor authors betrayed to engage with men too powerful for them in more forcible arguments than those of reason. A man ought not to be afraid at any time to be mean

In the midst of these disputes, either grave or ludicrous, De Foe published Advice to all Parties. He strenuously recommends that moderation and forbearance, which his opponents often remarked he was not so prone to practise as to preach. While he thus gave advice to all parties, he conveyed many salutary lessons to the dissenters, whom he was zealous to defend. In the Review, dated the 25th of December, 1705, he conjures them for God's sake, if not for their own sake, to be content. "Are there a few things more you could wish were done for you? resolve these wishes into two conclusions: 1st, Wait till Providence, if it shall be for your good, shall bring them to pass; 2ndly, Compare the present with the past circumstances, and you cannot repine without the highest ingratitude both to God and man."

De Foe found leisure, notwithstanding all those labours, perhaps a necessity, to publish in 1705, A

to be honest. Pardon me, therefore, with some warmth, to say, that neither the Vindicator, nor all his informers, can, with their utmost inquiry, make it appear that I am, or ever was, mercenary. And as there is a justice due from all men, of what dignity or quality soever, the wrong done me in this can be vindicated by nothing but proving the fact, which I am a most humble petitioner that he would be pleased to do, or else give me leave to speak of it in such terms as so great an injury demands. No, my lord, pardon my freedom, I condemn and abhor everything and every man that can be taxed with that name, let his dignity be what it will. I was ever true to one principle; I never betrayed my master or my friend; I always espoused the cause of truth and liberty, was ever on one side, and that side was ever right. I have lived to be ruined for it; and I lived to see it triumph over tyranny, party-rage, and persecution principles, and am sorry to see any man abandon it. I thank God this world cannot bid a price sufficient to bribe me. It is the principle I ever lived by, and shall espouse while I live, that a man ought to die rather than betray his friend, his cause, or his master."—ED.

Second Volume of the Writings of the Author of the True-born Englishman. The same reasons which formerly induced him to collect some loose pieces, held good, says he, for proceeding to a second volume, "that if I do not, somebody else will do it for me." He laments the scandalous liberty of the press; whereby piratic printers deprive an author of the native product of his own thought, and the purity of his own style. It is said, though perhaps without authority, that the vigorous remonstrances of De Foe procured the Act^x for the Encouragement of Learning, by vesting the copies of printed books in the authors or their assigns. The vanity of an administration, which affected to patronise the learned, concurring, with the mutual interest of bookmakers and booksellers, produced this salutary law, that our author alone had called for without success. De Foe's writings, thus collected into volumes, were soon a third time printed, with the addition of a key. The satire being now pointed by the specification of characters, and obscurities being illuminated by the annexation of circumstances, a numerous class of readers were induced, by their zeal of party, or desire of scandal, to look for gratification from our author's treatises. He is studious to complain, "that his writings had been most neglected of them, who at the same time have owned them useful." The second volume of 1705, containing eighteen treatises in prose and rhyme, begins with *A New Discovery of an old Intrigue*, and ends with *Royal Religion*^y.

^x 9 Anne, c. 19.

^y The pieces in this volume are: 1. *New Discovery of an Old Intrigue*. 2. *More Reformation*. 3. *Elegy on the Author of the True-born Englishman*. 4. *The Storm: an Essay*. 5. *A Hymn to the Pillory*. 6. *Hymn to Victory*.

The year 1705 was a year of disquiet to De Foe, not so much from the oppressions of state as from the persecutions of party. When his business, of whatever nature, led him to Exeter, and other western towns, in August, September, and October, 1705, a project was formed to send him as a soldier to the army, at a time when footmen were taken from the coaches as recruits ; but conscious of his being a freeholder of England, and a liveryman of London, he knew that such characters could not be violated, in this nation, with impunity. When some of the western justices, of more zeal of party than sense of duty, heard from his opponents of De Foe's journey, they determined to apprehend him as a vagabond : but our author, who, among other qualities, had personal courage in a high degree, reflected, that to face danger is most effectually to prevent it. In his absence, real suits were commenced against him for fictitious debts : but De Foe advertised, that genuine claims he would fairly satisfy. If all these uncommon circumstances had not been published in the Review, we should not have seen this striking picture of savage manners. So much more free are we at present, that the editor of a newspaper, however obnoxious to any party, may travel peaceably about his affairs over England, without fear of interruption. Were a justice of peace, from whatever motive, to offer him any obstruction, such a magistrate would be overwhelmed by the public

7. The Pacificator. 8. The Double Welcome to the Duke of Marlborough. 9. Dissenters' Answer to the High Church Challenge. 10. A Challenge of Peace to the whole Nation. 11. Peace without Union. 12. More Short Ways. 13. New Test of the Church of England's Honesty. 14. Serious Inquiry. 15. The Dissenters Misrepresented. 16. The Parallel. 17. Giving Alms no Charity. 18. Royal Religion.

indignation, and punished by the higher guardians of our quiet and our laws^z.

De Foe began the year 1706 with A Hymn to Peace^a; occasioned by the two houses of parliament joining in one address to the queen. On the 4th of May he published An Essay at removing National Prejudices against an Union with Scotland. A few weeks after, he gave the world a second essay, to soften rancour and defeat perversity. But the time was now come when he was to perform what he had often promised: and his fruitfulness produced, in July, 1736, *Jure Divino*, a satire against Tyranny

^z In the year 1705, he also published a satirical poem, entitled, The Dyet of Poland: printed at Dantzick. He sketches the leading politicians of the day under Polish names; William III. being represented as Sobieski. He also published A True Relation, of the Apparition of one Mrs. Veal, the next day after her death, to one Mrs. Bargrave, at Canterbury, the 8th of Sept. 1705, which Apparition recommends the perusal of Drelincourt's Book of Consolation against the Fear of Death. This work it is said was written by De Foe to make Drelincourt's sell, which was before a heavy book in the market, and of course produced the desired effect. The future author of Robinson Crusoe may be distinctly seen in this work. Sir Walter Scott considered it one of his happiest efforts, and marked with the distinct impress of De Foe. He observes "that De Foe has put in force within those few pages, peculiar specimens of his art of recommending the most improbable narrative by his specious and serious mode of telling it. Whoever will read it as told by De Foe himself, will agree that could the thing have happened in reality, so it would have been told. In short, the whole is so distinctly circumstantial, that were it not for the impossibility, or extreme improbability at least, of such an occurrence, the evidence could not but support the story." In this year the second volume of the Review was completed. The early part of it refers to matters of trade, which he says he had intended to write more fully upon, but was diverted by domestic affairs; and that his labours in behalf of peace had given great satisfaction.—ED.

^a Published the 10th of January, 1705-6. In May, 1706, he published a poem on the duke of Marlborough's great victory, entitled, On the Fight of Ramillies.

and Passive Obedience, which had been delayed for fear, as he declares, of parliamentary censure. Of this poem, it cannot be said, as of Thomson's Liberty, that it was written to prove what no man ever denied. This satire, says the preface, had never been published, though some of it has been a long time in being, had not the world seemed to be going mad a second time with the error of passive obedience, and non-resistance. "And because some men require," says he, "more explicit answers, I declare my belief, that a monarchy, according to the present constitution, limited by parliament, and dependent upon law, is not only the best government in the world, but also the best for this nation in particular, most suitable to the genius of the people, and the circumstances of the whole body." Dryden had given an example, a few years before, of argumentative poetry, in his *Hind and Panther*; by which he endeavoured to defend the tenets of the church of Rome. Our author now reasoned in rhyme, through twelve books, in defence of every man's birthright by nature, when all sorts of liberty were run down and opposed. His purpose is doubtless honester than Dryden's; and his argument being in support of the better cause, is perhaps superior in strength: but in the *Jure Divino* we look in vain for

The varying verse, the full-resounding line,
The long majestic march, and energy divine^b.

^b It was partly republished in 1821, by Mr. Hone; who says in the preface, "De Foe was the ablest politician of his day, an energetic writer, and, better than all, an honest man; but not much of a poet. The *Jure Divino* is defective in argument and versification. It is likewise disfigured by injudicious repetitions; a large portion is directed to the politics of the time, and it is otherwise unfit for republication entire; but it abounds with energetic thoughts, forcible touches, and happy illustrations."—ED.

Our author was soon after engaged in more important, because much more useful, business. Lord Godolphin, who knew how to discriminate characters, determined to employ him on an errand, "which," as he says, "was far from being unfit for a sovereign to direct, or an honest man to perform." By his lordship he was carried to the queen, who said to him, while he kissed her hand^c, "that she had such satisfaction in his former services, that she had again appointed him for another affair, which was something nice, but the treasurer would tell him the rest." In three days he was sent to Scotland. His knowledge of commerce and revenue, his powers of insinuation, and above all, his readiness of pen, were deemed of no small utility in promoting the Union. He arrived at Edinburgh, in October, 1706. And we shall find him no inconsiderable actor in the performance of that greatest of all good works. He attended the committees of parliament, for whose use he made several of the calculations^d on the subject of trade and taxes. He complains^e, however, that when afterwards some clamour was raised upon the inequality of the proportions, and the contrivers began to be blamed, and a little threatened *a-lamob*, then it was D. F.^f made it all, and he was to be stoned for it. He endeavoured to confute^g all that was published by Webster and Hodges, and the other writers in Scotland against the Union : and he had his share of danger, since, as he says,

^c Appeal, p. 16.

^d See his History of the Union, p. 401. ^e Ibid. p. 379.

^f Daniel De Foe. He had two names through life ; and even when letters of administration were granted on his personal estate, some time after his death, *De Foe* is added with an *otherwise*. We might thence infer that his father's name was *Foe*, if we had not now better evidence of the fact.

^g Ibid. 223.

he was watched by the mob ; had his chamber windows insulted ; but by the prudence of his friends, and God's providence, he escaped^b. In the midst of this great scene of business and tumult, he collected the documents which he afterwards published for the instruction of posterity, with regard to one of the most difficult, and, at the same time, the most fortunate transactions in our annals.

During all those labours and risks, De Foe published, in December, 1706, *Caledonia*, a poem, in honour of the Scots nationⁱ. This poetic essay,

^b History of the Union, p. 239.

ⁱ Dr. Towers says, [*Biograph. Brit.*] "In this poem De Foe celebrates the courage of the Scots, and enumerates some of their military exploits. He endeavours to prove that the situation of Scotland rendered it well adapted for trade ; he speaks honourably of the abilities of the inhabitants ; he commends them for their learning, and their attention to religion ; and he hints at the advantages which they might derive from a union with England. But though De Foe's poem was a panegyric upon Scotland and Scotsmen, it did not wholly consist of commendation. He takes notice of the evils that the common people suffered from their vassalage to their chiefs, and from their ignorance of the blessings of liberty. He also censures the Scots for not improving the natural advantages which their country possessed, and for neglecting their fishery ; and he gives them some excellent advice." In 1707, he published a tract called, *A Voice from the South ; or an Address from some Protestant Dissenters in England to the Kirk of Scotland ; the object being, as the title implies, to reconcile the presbyterians to the Union, then on the eve of completion.*

He also in that year published a third volume of the *Review*, in which he dwelt very much upon matters connected with trade. One passage relative to the poor and their management, shows that he was far beyond his age on that point, as on most others. "Perhaps he may give some needful hints as to the state of our poor, in which his judgment may differ from that of others, but he must be plain : and while he is no enemy to charity-hospitals and workhouses, he thinks that methods to keep our poor out of them, far exceed, both in prudence and charity, all the settlements and endeavours in the world to

which was intended to rescue Scotland from slander in opinion, Caledonia herself bade him dedicate to the duke of Queensbury. Besides other benefac-

maintain them there. As to censure, he expects it. He writes to serve the world, not to please it. A few wise, calm, disinterested men, he always had the good hap to please and satisfy. By their judgment he desires still to be determined ; and if he has any pride, it is that he may be approved by such. To the rest, he sedately says, their censure deserves no notice." In 1708 he published a fourth volume of the Review, in which he discusses the Union at great length. He also discusses the war, the policy of the Swedes, &c. ; the insurrection in Hungary, the revolution in Naples. The great principles of liberty are here, as they always were by De Foe, maintained with energy and warmth ; but De Foe's mind was essentially practical, and therefore moderate. In the following fine passage he displays his principle of action. "In all my writings, as well as in this paper, it has been my endeavour, and ever shall be, I hope, to steer the middle way between all our extremes, and while I am applauding the lustre of moderation, to practise it myself." He foresees, however, the fate of impartiality in the contests of faction. "If I might give a short hint to an impartial writer, it should be to tell him his fate. If he resolves to venture up the dangerous precipice of telling unbiassed truths, let him proclaim war with mankind, *a la mode le pais de Pole*, neither to give nor take quarter. If he tells the crimes of great men, they fall upon him with the iron hands of the law ; if he tells their virtues, when they have any, then the mob attacks him with slander. But if he regards truth, let him expect martyrdom on both sides, and then he may go on fearless ; and this is the course I take myself." [vol. iv. p. 593.]

In 1708, prince George of Denmark, consort of queen Anne, died ; and De Foe described his character in one of the Reviews. The recent circumstances in our own day, so analogous to that of prince George and the queen, make De Foe's sketch one of great interest. "Death has made a very deep incision in the public tranquillity, in the person of the prince of Denmark. His royal highness was a great and good man, a friend to England and her interest, and true and hearty in the cause of liberty. . . . If I had a design to run through the character of the prince, I would observe upon the excellency of his temper, the calmness of his passions, and the sedateness of his judgment, which commanded respect from the whole nation in a manner peculiar to himself ; so that every

tions, the commissioner gave the author, whom he calls Daniel De Foe, esquire, an exclusive privilege to sell his encomiastic strains for seven years, within the country of his celebration. Amidst our author's busy occupations at Edinburgh, he was anxious to assure the world, that wherever the writer may be, the Reviews are written with his own hand; no person having, or ever had, any concern in writing them, but the known author, D. F. On the 16th of January, the act of Union was passed by the Scots parliament; and De Foe returned to London, in February, 1706-7. While he thus acted importantly at Edinburgh, he formed connections with considerable persons, who were proud of his future correspondence, and profited from his political interests^k.

party, however jarring and opposite, paid him their homage, although nothing was more averse to his temper than the divisions which unhappily agitate the nation. Nor can it be doubted that his highness derived peculiar satisfaction from his not interfering in public affairs more than his exalted station obliged him, since he saw it was impossible to do so without committing himself to a party, which he was always averse to. He sincerely lamented our divisions, but never encouraged or approved them. By his steady conduct, joined with a general courtesy to all sorts of people, he acquired the esteem and love of all parties, and that more than any person of his degree that ever went before him. I need not note how next to impossible it is in this divided nation, for the most consummate prudence to steer through the variety of interests and gain an universal good opinion, or indeed avoid universal censure. How the prince attained that great point I shall not attempt to examine; but this I think ought to be recorded to posterity, that one man in Britain was found, of whom no man spoke evil,—and *this was he!*" [vol. iv. p. 409.]—ED.

^k Lord Buchan was so obliging as to communicate the subjoined extract of a letter to his lordship's grandfather, the earl of Buchan, from De Foe, dated the 29th of May, 1711:—"The person, with whom I endeavoured to plant the interest of your lordship's friend, has been strangely taken up, since I had

How our author was rewarded by the ministers who derived a benefit from those services, and from that danger, as he does not tell, cannot now be known. Before his departure for Scotland, indeed, lord Godolphin, as he acknowledges¹, obtained for him the continuance of an appointment, which her majesty, by the interposition of his first benefactor, had been pleased to make him, in consideration of a former service, in a foreign country, wherein he run as much risk as a grenadier on the counterscarp. As he was too prudent to disclose his secret services, they must at present remain undiscovered. Yet is there reason to think that he had a pension rather than an office, since his name is not in the red book of the queen; and he solemnly avers, in his Appeal, that he had not interest enough with lord Oxford to procure him the arrears due to him in the time of the former ministry. This appointment, whatever it were, he is studious to tell, he originally owed to Harley; he, however, thankfully acknowledges, that lord Godolphin continued his favour to him after the unhappy breach that separated his first benefactor from the minister, who continued in power till August, 1710.

The nation, which was filled with combustible matter, burst into flame the moment of that memorable separation, in 1707. In the midst of this con-

that occasion; viz., first, in suffering the operation of the surgeons to heal the wound of the assassin; and since, in accumulating honours from parliament, the queen, and the people. On Thursday evening her majesty created him earl Mortimer, earl of Oxford, and lord Harley of Wigmore: and we expect that to-morrow in council he will have the white staff given him by the queen, and be declared lord high treasurer. I wrote this yesterday; and this day, May the 29th, he is made lord high treasurer of Great Britain, and carried the white staff before the queen this morning to chapel.

¹ Appeal, p. 16.

flagration our author was not inactive. He waited on Harley after he had been driven from power, who generously advised him to continue his services to the queen, which he supposed would have no relation to personal differences among statesmen. Godolphin received him with equal kindness, by saying, I always think a man honest till I find to the contrary. And if we may credit De Foe's asseverations, in the presence of those who could have convicted him of falsehood, he for three years held no correspondence with his principal benefactor, which the great man never took ill of him.

As early as February 1706-7, De Foe avowed his purpose to publish the History of the Union, which he had ably assisted to accomplish. This design he executed in 1709, though he was engaged in other lucubrations, and gave the world a Review three times a week. His history seems to have been little noticed when it first appeared; for, as the preface states, it had many difficulties in the way; many factions to encounter, and parties to please. Yet it was republished in 1712; and a third time in 1786, when a similar union had become the topic of public debate and private conversation^m. The subject of this work is the completion of a measure, which was

^m With the present Life of De Foe, by Mr. Chalmers, prefixed. In this year he closed the fifth volume of the Review. He goes at great length into the affairs of Scotland, especially religious. For the freedom of his remarks in protesting against innovations upon the Scotch establishment, the Review was prosecuted by the grand jury, but the prosecution was soon stopped. He also contended vigorously against licensing the press, and for the Copyright Bill, which subsequently passed. He attacked Dr. Sacheverel for his celebrated sermon on the 5th of November, at St. Paul's. And he published a sixth volume of the Review. He there exposed stockjobbing;—he refers to his frequently repeated anticipations of the eventual defeat of Charles XII. in relation to the battle of Pultowa; and he pays great attention, as before, to Scotch affairs.—ED.

carried into effect, notwithstanding obstructions apparently insurmountable, and tumults approaching to rebellion, and which has produced the ends designed, beyond expectation, whether we consider its influence on the government, or its operation on the governed. The minuteness with which he describes what he saw and heard on the turbulent stage, where he acted a conspicuous part, is extremely interesting to us, who wish to know what actually passed, however this circumstantiality may have disgusted contemporaneous readers. History is chiefly valuable as it transmits a faithful copy of the manners and sentiments of every age. This narrative of De Foe is a drama, in which he introduces the highest peers and the lowest peasants, speaking and acting, according as they were each actuated by their characteristic passions; and while the man of taste is amused by his manner, the man of business may draw instruction from the documents, which are appended to the end, and interspersed in every page. This publication had alone preserved his name, had his *Crusoe* pleased us less.

De Foe published in 1709, what indeed required less effort of the intellect or the hand, *The History of Addresses*; with no design, he says, and as we may believe, to disturb the public peace, but to compare the present tempers of men with the past, in order to discover who had altered for the better, and who for the worse. He gave a second volume of *Addresses* in 1711, with remarks serious and comicalⁿ. His purpose plainly was to abate, by ridicule,

ⁿ Mr. Chalmers here seems to be mistaken. De Foe wrote neither of these works. The first Mr. Wilson tells us was written by Oldmixon. De Foe, indeed, in order to expose the folly of the high tory party, who had procured several addresses to the queen, and which were published by them as an indication, "that the sense of the nation is express for the doctrine of

the public fervour with regard to Sacheverel, who, by I know not what fatality, or folly, gave rise to eventful changes. De Foe evinces, by these timely publications, that amidst all that enthusiasm and tumult, he preserved his senses, and adhered to his principles.

When, by such imprudence as the world had never seen before, Godolphin was in his turn expelled, in August, 1710, our author waited on the ex-minister; who obligingly said to him, That he had the same good-will, but not the same power to assist him; and Godolphin told him, what was of more real use—to receive the queen's commands from her confidential servants, when he saw things settled. It naturally occurred to De Foe, that it was his duty to go along with the ministers, while, as he says, they did not break in on the constitution. And who can blame a very subordinate officer, (if indeed he held an office,) who had a wife and six children to maintain with very precarious means? He was thus, says he, cast back providentially on his first benefactor, who laid his case before her majesty, whereby he preserved his interest, without any engagement. On that me-

passive obedience and nonresistance, and for her majesty's hereditary title to the throne of her ancestors," published a counter manifesto, *A New Test of the Sense of the Nation: being a modest Comparison between the Addresses to the late King James and those to her present Majesty*. In order to show how far the sense of the nation may be judged of by either of them. 1710. His object is of course to expose the folly of supposing that the addresses represented the real feeling of the country. In a strain of great irony, he says; "The practice of addressing has cheated many already; a jest that was put upon Richard Cromwell, and yet they deprived him three weeks afterwards. It was a second time put upon king James II. and they all flew in his face a year after. And I could give some instances of the little value that has been put upon it since, even such as one would think the very people themselves expect,—that for time to come addressing should pass for nothing with their princes."—ED.

morale change De Foe however somewhat changed his tone. The method I shall take, says he^o, in talking of the public affairs, shall for the future be, though with the same design to support truth, yet with more caution of embroiling myself with a party who have no mercy, and who have no sense of service.

De Foe now lived at Newington, in comfortable circumstances, publishing the Reviews, and sending out such tracts, as either gratified his prejudices, or supplied his needs. During that contentious period he naturally gave and received many wounds; and he prudently entered into a truce with Mr. J. Dyer, who was engaged in similar occupations, that, however they might clash in party, they may write without personal reflections, and thus differ still, and yet preserve the Christian and the gentleman^p. But

^o Review, vol. vii. No. 95.

^p The following letter to Mr. J. Dyer, in Shoe-lane, who was then employed by the leaders of the Tories, in circulating news and insinuations through the country, will show the literary manners of those times, and convey some anecdotes, which are nowhere else preserved. The original letter is in the Museum, Harl. MSS. No. 7001. fol. 269.

Mr. Dyer,

I have your letter. I am rather glad to find you put it upon the trial who was aggressor, than justify a thing which I am sure you cannot approve; and in this I assure you I am far from injuring you, and refer you to the time when long since you had wrote I was fled from justice: one Sammon being taken up for printing a libel, and I being then on a journey, nor the least charge against me for being concerned in it by anybody but your letter:—also many unkind personal reflections on me in your letter, when I was in Scotland, on the affair of the Union, and I assure you, when my paper had not in the least mentioned you, and those I refer to time and date for the proof of.

I mention this only in defence of my last letter, in which I said no more of it than to let you see I did not merit such

between professed controvertists such a treaty could only be persevered in with Punic faith.

treatment, and could nevertheless be content to render any service to you, though I thought myself hardly used.

But to state the matter fairly between you and I [me], a writing for different interests, and so possibly coming under an unavoidable necessity of jarring in several cases : I am ready to make a fair truce of honour with you, viz., that if what either party are doing, or saying, that may clash with the party we are for, and urge us to speak, it shall be done without naming either's name, and without personal reflections; and thus we may differ still, and yet preserve both the Christian and the gentleman.

This I think is an offer may satisfy you. I have not been desirous of giving just offence to you, neither would I to any man, however I may differ from him ; and I see no reason why I should affront a man's person, because I do not join with him in principle. I please myself with being the first proposer of so fair a treaty with you, because I believe, as you cannot deny its being very honourable, so it is not less so in coming first from me, who I believe could convince you of my having been the first and most ill-treated—for further proof of which I refer you to your letters, at the time I was threatened by the envy of the king of Sweden.

However, Mr. Dyer, this is a method which may end what is past, and prevent what is future; and if refused, the future part I am sure cannot lie at my door.

As to your letter, your proposal is so agreeable to me, that truly without it I could not have taken the thing at all; for it would have been a trouble intolerable, both to you as well as me, to take your letter every post, first from you, and then send it to the post-house.

Your method of sending to the black box, is just what I designed to propose, and Mr. Shaw will doubtless take it of you: if you think it needful for me to speak to him it shall be done—what I want to know is only the charge, and that you will order it constantly to be sent, upon hinting whereof I shall send you the names. Wishing you success in all things (your opinions of government excepted.)

I am,

Your humble servant,

DE FOE.

Newington, June 17th,
1710.

While thus occupied, De Foe was not forgotten by the city of Edinburgh, with the usual ingratitude of public bodies. On the first of February, 1710-11, that corporation, remembering his Caledonia, empowered him to publish the Edinburgh Courant, in the room of Adam Booge^q, though I suspect that he did not continue long to edify the Edinburgh citizens by his weekly lucubrations. He had then much to think of, and much to do at a distance : and he soon after gave some support to lord Oxford's South-sea project, by publishing *An Essay on the South-sea Trade*, with an inquiry into the reasons of the present complaint against the settlement of the South-sea company^r. In the same year he

^q Arnott's Edinburgh. The second newspaper ever published in Scotland. During this period he published the seventh volume of the Review, which is chiefly occupied by home affairs.

^r De Foe had, many years before Harley proposed it in parliament, suggested an establishment of a South-sea trade, not only for commercial advantage, but as an effectual mode of crippling Spain and France. "I had the honour to lay a proposal before his late majesty king William, in the beginning of this war, for carrying the war, not into Old Spain, but into America: which proposal his majesty approved of, and fully proposed to put it in execution, had not death, to our unspeakable grief, prevented him. And yet I would have my readers distinguish with me, that there is always a manifest difference between carrying on a war with America and settling a trade there; and I shall not fail to speak distinctly to this difference in its turn." He then points out the circumstances of the trade, and distinctly warns his countrymen against those rash and extravagant speculations which they unfortunately persisted to indulge in, and which caused the ruin of so many persons. "I am far from designing to discourage this new undertaking, which I profess to believe a very happy one; but to correct these wild notions, it seems needful to ascertain what we are to understand by a trade to the South Seas, and what not; that in the first place our enemies may not make a wrong improvement of it, our friends in Spain may not take umbrage at it, and our people at home may not grow big with wild expectations, which might end in chagrin and disappointment. There is room enough on the western coast of America for us

published *An Essay at a plain Exposition of that difficult phrase—A GOOD PEACE*. He obviously intended to abate the national ardour for war, and to incite a national desire of quiet^s.

to establish a flourishing trade without encroaching upon the Spaniards. The industry and enterprise of the English in such a situation would open a wide door for the consumption of our manufactures, and bring a vast revenue of wealth to our own country." [Review, vol. viii. p. 165. 274.] They are the same views substantially as those he afterwards maintained in the pamphlet mentioned by Mr. Chalmers in the text.—Ed.

* He also vindicated the memory of William III., who had been fiercely attacked for the Partition Treaty, by a pamphlet rather long and quaint—*The Felonious Treaty: or, an Inquiry into the Reasons which moved his late Majesty King William, of Glorious Memory, to enter into a Treaty at ten several times, with the King of France, for the Partition of the Spanish Monarchy*. With an Essay, proving that it was always the sense both of King William and of all the Confederates, and even of the Grand Alliance itself, that the Spanish Monarchy should never be united in the Person of the Emperor. 1711. In the year 1712, he vigorously attacked the persecuting bill introduced by lord Nottingham, by which dissenters were to be excluded from civil employments, and persons in office were forbidden to attend dissenting places of worship, under severe penalties. De Foe not only kept up a galling fire in his Reviews, but published a pamphlet on the subject, entitled, *An Essay on the History of Parties and Persecution in Britain: beginning with a brief Account of the Test Act, and an Historical Inquiry into the Reasons, the Original, and the Consequences of the Occasional Conformity of the Dissenters: with some Remarks on the recent attempts already made and now making for an Occasional Bill: inquiring how far the same may be esteemed a Preservative of the Church, or an Injury to the Dissenters*. He seems to have renewed the attack not only against that measure, but also against a similar bill introduced to authorise the use of the liturgy in Scotland, in a pamphlet which Mr. Wilson says bears undoubted evidence of being De Foe's, although never inserted in any list of his writings, entitled, *The Present State of Parties in Great Britain: particularly an Inquiry into the State of the Dissenters in England, and the Presbyterians in Scotland: their religious and politic Interest considered, as it respects their Circumstances before and since the late Acts against Occasional Conformity in Eng-*

The ministers, by the course of events, were engaged ere long in one of the hardest tasks which can be assigned to British statesmen—the re-establishment of tranquillity after a glorious war. The treaty at Utrecht furnishes a memorable example of this. The furious debates which ensued within the walls of parliament and without, are sufficiently remembered. About this time, says Boyer, in May, 1713, a paper, entitled, *Mercator, or Commerce Retrieved*, was published on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays^t. This was first fathered on Arthur Moore, assisted by Dr. D'Avenant; but the latter solemnly denied it: and it soon after appeared to be the production of Daniel De Foe, an

gland, and for Toleration of Common Prayer in Scotland. In this work he goes into a lengthened history of the dissenters, and strongly recommends union amongst all bodies of them. He also in this year vigorously opposed the tax upon newspapers, which was enforced in 1712. The eighth volume of the *Review* closed in July, 1712. Trade and war are the main subjects discussed in it.—ED.

^t The first *Mercator* was published on the 26th of May, 1713; the last on the 20th of July, 1714: and they were written by William Brown and his assistants, with great knowledge, great strength, and great sweetness, considering how much party then embittered every composition. The *British Merchant*, which opposed the *Mercator*, and which was compiled by Henry Martyn and his associates, has fewer facts, less argument, and more factiousness. It began on the 1st of August, 1713, and ended the 27th of July, 1714. I have spoken of both from my own convictions, without regarding the declamations which have continued to pervert the public opinion from that epoch to the present times. De Foe was struck at in the third number of the *British Merchant*, and plainly mentioned in the fourth. Mr. Daniel Foe may change his name from *Review* to *Mercator*, from *Mercator* to any other title, yet still his singular genius shall be distinguished by his inimitable way of writing. Thus personal sarcasm was introduced to supply deficiency of facts, or weakness of reasoning. When Charles King republished *The British Merchant* in volumes, among various changes, he expunged, with other personalities, the name of De Foe.

ambidextrous hireling, who for this dirty work received a large weekly allowance from the treasury. That he wrote in the *Mercator* De Foe admits ; but he expressly denies "that he either was the author of it, had the property of it, the printing of it, the profit of it, or had the power to put anything into it, if he would." And, by his Appeal, he affirms before God and the world, "that he never had any payment, or reward, for writing any part of it." Yet, that he was ready to defend those papers of the *Mercator* which were really his, if men would answer with arguments, rather than abuse ; though not those things which he had never written, but for which he had received such usage. He adds, with the noble spirit of a true-born Englishman, "The press was open to me as well as to others : and how, or when I lost my English liberty of speaking my mind, I know not : neither how my speaking my opinions, without fee or reward, could authorise any one to call me villain, rascal, traitor, and such opprobrious names."

Of the imputed connection with his first benefactor, Harley, during that memorable period, our author speaks with equal firmness, at a moment when firmness was necessary. "I solemnly protest," says he, by his Appeal, "in the presence of Him who shall judge us all, that I have received no instructions, orders, or directions for writing anything, or materials from lord Oxford, since lord Godolphin was treasurer, or that I have ever shown to lord Oxford anything I had written or printed." He challenges the world to prove the contrary ; and he affirms, that he always capitulated for liberty to speak according to his own judgment of things. As to consideration, pension, or reward, he declares most solemnly that he had none, except his old appointment made him long before by lord Godol-

phin. What is extremely probable we may easily credit, without such strong asseverations. However lord Oxford may have been gratified by the voluntary writings of De Foe, he had doubtless other persons who shared his confidence, and wrote his Examiners^u.

But De Foe published that which by no means promoted lord Oxford's views, and which, therefore, gained little of his favour. Our author wrote against the peace of Utrecht, because he approved of it as little as he had done the treaty at Gertruydenburgh, under very different influences a few years before. The peace *he* was for, as he himself says, was such as should neither have given the Spanish monarchy to the house of Bourbon, nor to the house of Austria; but that this bone of contention should have been so broken to pieces, as that it should not have been dangerous to Europe; and that England and Holland should have so strengthened themselves, by sharing its commerce, as should have made them no more afraid of France, or the emperor; and that all that we should conquer in the Spanish West Indies should be our own. But it is equally true, he affirms, that when the peace was established, "I thought our business was to

^u It is now sufficiently known, that Lord Oxford had relinquished the Treaty of Commerce to its fate, before it was finally debated in parliament. See much curious matter on this subject in Macpherson's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 421-23. It is there said, that he gave up the commercial treaty, in compliment to sir Thomas Hanmer, as he would by no means be an occasion of a breach among friends. The treasurer had other reasons: the treaty had been made by Bolingbroke, whom he did not love; the lords Anglesea and Abingdon had made extravagant demands for their support; and, like a wise man, he thought it idle to drive a nail that would not go. Yet lord Halifax boasted to the Hanoverian minister, that he alone had been the occasion of the treaty being rejected. [Same papers, p. 509-47.]

make the best of it; and rather to inquire what improvements could be made of it, than to be continually exclaiming against those who procured it."

He manfully avowed his opinion in 1715, when it was both disgraceful and dangerous, that the ninth article of the treaty of commerce^x was calculated for the advantage of our trade; "Let who will make it, that," says he, "is nothing to me. My reasons are, because it tied up the French to open the door to our manufactures, at a certain duty of importation there, and left the parliament of Britain at liberty to shut theirs out, by as high duties as they pleased here, there being no limitation upon us, as to duties on French goods, but that other nations should pay the same. While the French were thus bound, and the British free, I always thought we must be in a condition to trade to advantage, or it must be our own fault: this was my opinion, and is so still; and I would engage to maintain it against any man, on a public stage, before a jury of fifty merchants, and venture my life upon the cause, if I were assured of fair play in the dispute. But, that it was my opinion, we might carry on a trade with France to our great advantage, and that we ought for that reason to trade with them, appears in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes of the Reviews, above nine years before *The Mercator* was thought of." Experience has decided in favour of De Foe against his opponents, with regard both to the theory and the practice of commerce.

In May, 1713, our author relinquished the Review, after nine years' continuance^y: in Newgate it began, and in Newgate it ended. Whether we consider the frequency of the publication, or the

^x He attacked it first in 1713, in *An Essay on the Treaty of Commerce with France, with necessary Expositions.*

^y It closed May, 1713, with the ninth volume.

power of his disquisitions, the pertinacity of his opponents, or the address of his defences, amid other studies, without assistance, this must be allowed to be such a work, as few of our writers have equalled. Yet, of this great performance, said Gay, "The poor Review is quite exhausted, and grown so very contemptible, that though he has provoked all his brothers of the quill, none will enter into a controversy with him. The fellow, who had excellent natural parts, but wanted a small foundation of learning, is a lively instance of those wits, who, as an ingenious author says, will endure but one skimming²." Poor Gay had learned this cant in the Scriblerus Club, who thought themselves the wisest, the wittiest, and virtuouses men that ever were, or ever would be. But of all their works, which of them have been so often skimmed, or yielded such cream, as Robinson Crusoe, The Family Instructor, or Religious Courtship? Some of their writings may indeed be allowed to have uncommon merit; yet, let them not arrogate exclusive excellence, or claim appropriate praise.

When De Foe relinquished the Review, he began to write A General History of Trade, which he proposed to publish in monthly numbers. The first number appeared on the first of August, 1713. His great design was to show the reader, "What the whole world is at this time employed in as to trade." But his more immediate end was, to rectify the mistake we are fallen into as to commerce, and to inform those who are willing to inquire into the truth. In the execution of this arduous undertaking, he avows his intention of speaking what reason dictates and fact justifies, however he may clash with the

² State of Wit, 1711, which is reprinted in the Supplement to Swift's Works.

popular opinions of some people in trade. He could not however wholly abstract himself from the passing scene. When his second number appeared, on the 15th of August, 1713, he gave a discourse on the harbour of Dunkirk; wherein he insists, that the port ought to be destroyed, if it must remain with France^a; but, if it were added to England, or made a free port, it would be for the good of mankind to have a safe harbour in such dangerous seas. This History of Trade, which exhibits the ingenuity, the strength, and the piety of De Foe, extended only to two numbers. The agitations of the times carried him to other literary pursuits; and the factiousness of the times constrained him to attend to personal security.

"While I spoke of things thus," says our author, "I bore infinite reproaches, as the defender of the peace, by pamphlets, which I had no hand in." He appears to have been silenced by noise, obloquy, and insult; and finding himself in this manner treated, he declined writing at all, as he assures us; and for great part of a year never set pen to paper, except in the Reviews. "After this," continues he, "I was a long time absent in the north of England," though we may easily infer, for a very different reason than that of the famous retirement of Swift, upon the final breach between Oxford and Bolingbroke.

The place of his retreat is now known to have been Halifax, or the borders of Lancashire^b. And

^a It *was* ordered to be destroyed.

^b The late History of Halifax relates, that Daniel De Foe, being forced to abscond, on account of his political writings, resided at Halifax, in the Back-lane, at the sign of the Rose and Crown, being known to Dr. Nettleton, the physician, and the Rev. Mr. Priestley, minister of a dissenting congregation there. Mr. Watson is mistaken when he supposes that De Foe wrote

observing here, as he himself relates, the insolence of the Jacobite party, and how they insinuated the Pretender's rights into the common people, "I set pen to paper again, by writing *A Seasonable Caution*; and, to open the eyes of the poor ignorant country people, I gave away this all over the kingdom, as gain was not intended." With the same laudable purpose he wrote three other pamphlets; the first, *What if the Pretender should come*; the second, *Reasons against the Succession of the House of Hanover*; the third, *What if the Queen should die*? "Nothing could be more plain," says he, "than that the titles of these were amusements^c, in order to put the books into the hands of those people who had been deluded by the Jacobites." These petty volumes were so much approved by the zealous friends of the protestant succession, that they were diligent to disperse them through the most distant counties. And De Foe protests, that had the elector of Hanover given him a thousand pounds, he could not have served him more effectually, than by writing these three treatises.

The reader will learn, with surprise and indignation, that for these writings De Foe was arrested, obliged to give eight hundred pounds bail, contrary to the Bill of Rights, and prosecuted by information, during Trinity term, 1713. This groundless prosecution was instituted by the absurd zeal of Wil-

his *Jure Divino* here, which had been published previously in 1706; and he is equally mistaken, when he says, that De Foe had made an improper use of the papers of Selkirk, whose story had been often published.

^c The pamphlets mentioned in the text were filled with palpable banter. He recommends the Pretender by saying, That the prince would confer on every one the privilege of wearing wooden shoes, and at the same time ease the nobility and gentry of the hazard and expense of winter journeys to parliament.

liam Benson, who afterwards became ridiculously famous for literary exploits, which justly raised him to the honours of the *Dunciad*. Our author attributes this prosecution to the malice of his enemies, who were numerous and powerful. No inconsiderable people were heard to say, that they knew the books were against the Pretender, but that De' Foe had disobliged them in other things, and they resolved to take this advantage to punish him. This story is the more credible, as he had procured evidence to prove the fact, had the trial proceeded. He was prompted by consciousness of innocence to defend himself in the Review during the prosecution, which offended the judges, who, being somewhat infected with the violent spirit of the times, committed him to Newgate, in Easter term, 1713. He was, however, soon released, on making a proper submission. But it was happy for De Foe that his first benefactor was still in power, who procured him the queen's pardon, in November^d, 1713. This act of liberal justice was produced by the party-writers^e of those black and bitter days, as an additional proof of Lord Oxford's attachment to the abdicated family, while De Foe was said to be convicted of absolute jacobitism, contrary to the tenour of his life, and the purpose of his writings. He himself said sarcastically that they might as well have made him a Mahometan. On his tombstone it might have been engraved, that he was the only Englishman who had been obliged to ask a royal pardon, for writing in favour of the Hanover succession.

"By this time," says Boyer, in October, 1714,

^d The pardon is dated on the 13th of November, 1713, and is signed by Bolingbroke. See it set out verbatim. Appeal to Honour and Justice.

^e See Boyer's Political State, Oldmixon's History, &c.

“the treasonable design to bring in the pretender was manifested to the world by the agent of one of the late managers, De Foe, in his History of the White Staff. The Detection of the Secret History of the White Staff, which was soon published, confidently tells, that it was written by De Foe; as is to be seen by his abundance of words, his false thoughts, and his false English^f.” We now know that there was at that epoch, no plot in favour of the pretender, except in the assertions of those who wished to promote their interest by exhibiting their zeal. And I have shown, that De Foe had done more to keep out the pretender, than the political tribe, who profited from his zeal, yet detracted from his fame^g.

^f It is universally said by the sellers and buyers of old books, that John, duke of Argyle, was the real author of The Secret History of the White Staff. His grace, indeed, is not in the Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors. Whether the duke wrote this petty pamphlet may be doubted; but there can be no doubt that De Foe was not the author: for he solemnly asserts by his Appeal, in 1715, That he had written nothing since the queen's death. The internal evidence is stronger than this positive assertion.

^g In the year 1714, De Foe pleaded the cause of religious liberty in his most effective manner. He was roused to action by the bill then passing parliament, “to prevent the growth of schism,” which was of course only another name for intolerance. By this bill, all schoolmasters were required to be licensed by the bishop, and have a certificate of conformity from the minister of his parish! De Foe of course could not be silent on such an occasion, and he published The Remedy worse than the Disease: or Reasons against passing the Bill for preventing the Growth of Schism: to which is added, a Brief Discourse of Toleration and Persecution, showing their unavoidable effects, good or bad, and proving that neither Diversity of Religion, nor Diversity in the same Religion, are dangerous, much less inconsistent with good Government. In a Letter to a noble Earl. *Hæc sunt enim fundamenta firmissima nostræ Libertatis, sui quemque juris et retinendi et dimittendi esse dominum.* Cic. in Orat. pro Balbo. 1714.

“No sooner, was the queen dead,” says he, “and the king, as right required, proclaimed, but the rage of men increased upon me to that degree, that their threats were such as I am unable to express. Though I have written nothing since the queen’s death; yet, a great many things are called by my name, and I bear the answerers’ insults. I have not seen or spoken with the earl of Oxford,” continues he, “since the king’s landing, but once; yet he bears the reproach of my writing for him, and I the rage of men for doing it.” De Foe appears indeed to have been, at that noisy period, stunned by factious clamour, and overborne, though not silenced, by unmerited obloquy. He probably lost his original appointment, when his first benefactor was finally expelled. Instead of meeting with reward for his zealous services in support of the protestant succession, he was, on the accession of George I., discountenanced by those who had derived a benefit from his active exertions. And of Addison, who was now exalted into office, and enjoyed literary patronage, our author had said in his *Double Welcome* to the Duke of Marlborough, with less poetry than truth :

Mæcenas has his modern fancy strung,
And fix’d his pension first, or he had never sung.

While thus insulted by enemies, and discountenanced by power, De Foe published his *Appeal to Honour and Justice*, in 1715; being a true Account of his Conduct in Public Affairs. As a motive for this intrepid measure, he affectingly says, that “by the hints of mortality and the infirmities of a life of sorrow and fatigue, I have reason to think, that I am very near to the great ocean of eternity, and the time may not be long ere I embark on the last voyage : wherefore I think I should even accounts with

this world before I go, that no slanders may lie against my heirs, to disturb them in the peaceable possession of their father's inheritance, his character." It is a circumstance perhaps unexampled in the life of any other writer, that before he could finish his Appeal, he was struck with apoplexy. After languishing more than six weeks, neither able to go on, nor likely to recover, his friends thought fit to delay the publication no longer. "It is the opinion of most who know him," says Baker, the publisher, "that the treatment which he here complains of, and others of which he would have spoken, have been the cause of this disaster." When the ardent mind of De Foe reflected on what he had done, and what he had suffered, how he had been rewarded and persecuted, his heart melted in despair. His spirit, like a candle struggling in the socket, blazed and sunk, and blazed and sunk, till it disappeared in darkness.

While his strength remained, he expostulated with his adversaries in the following terms of great manliness, and instructive intelligence :—"It has been the disaster of all parties in this nation, to be very hot in their turn, and as often as they have been so, I have differed with them all, and shall do so. I will repeat some of the occasions on the Whig side, because from that quarter the accusation of my turning about comes.

"The first time I had the misfortune to differ with my friends, was about the year 1683, when the Turks were besieging Vienna, and the whigs in England, generally speaking, were for the Turks' taking it; which I, having read the history of the cruelty and perfidious dealings of the Turks in their wars, and how they had rooted out the name of the Christian religion in above three score and ten kingdoms, could by no means agree with: and

though then but a young man, and a younger author, I opposed it, and wrote against it, which was taken very unkindly indeed.

“The next time I differed with my friends, was when king James was wheedling the dissenters to take off the penal laws and test, which I could by no means come into. I told the dissenters, I had rather the Church of England should pull our clothes off by fines and forfeitures, than the papists should fall both upon the church and the dissenters, and pull our skins off by fire and fagot.

“The next difference I had with good men, was about the scandalous practice of occasional conformity, in which I had the misfortune to make many honest men angry, rather because I had the better of the argument, than because they disliked what I said.

“And now I have lived to see the dissenters themselves very quiet; if not very well pleased with an act of parliament to prevent it. Their friends indeed laid it on; they would be friends indeed, if they would talk of taking it off again.

“Again, I had a breach with honest men for their maltreating king William, of which I say nothing; because I think they are now opening their eyes, and making what amends they can to his memory.

“The fifth difference I had with them was about the treaty of partition, in which many honest men were mistaken, and in which I told them plainly then, that they would at last end the war upon worse terms; and so it is my opinion they would have done, though the treaty of Gertruydenburgh had taken place.

“The sixth time I differed with them, was when the old whigs fell out with the modern whigs; and when the duke of Marlborough and my lord Godol-

phin were used by the Observator in a manner worse, I confess, for the time it lasted, than ever they were used since ; nay, though it were by Abel and the Examiner. But the success failed. In this dispute my lord Godolphin did me the honour to tell me I had served him and his grace also, both faithfully and successfully. But his lordship is dead, and I have now no testimony of it, but what is to be found in the Observator, where I am plentifully abused for being an enemy to my country, by acting in the interest of my lord Godolphin and the duke of Marlborough. What weathercock can turn with such tempers as these ?

“ I am now in the seventh breach with them, and my crime now is, that I will not believe and say the same things of the queen and the late treasurer, which I could not believe before of my lord Godolphin and the duke of Marlborough, and which in truth I cannot believe, and therefore could not say it of either of them ; and which, if I had believed, yet I ought not to have been the man that should have said it, for the reasons aforesaid.

“ In such turns of tempers and times a man must have been tenfold a Vicar of Bray, or it is impossible but he must one time or other be out with everybody. This is my present condition ; and for this I am reviled with having abandoned my principles, turned jacobite, and what not ; God judge between me and these men ! Would they come to any particulars with me, what real guilt I may have, I would freely acknowledge ; and if they would produce any evidence of the bribes, the pensions, and the rewards I have taken, I would declare honestly whether they were true or no. If they would give a list of the books which they charge me with, and the reasons why they lay them at my door, I would acknowledge any mistake, own what I have done,

and let them know what I have not done. But these men neither show mercy, nor leave room for repentance; in which they act not only unlike their Maker, but contrary to his express commands ^h.”

With the same independence of spirit, but with greater modesty of manner, our author openly disapproved of the intemperance which was adopted by government in 1714, contrary to the original purpose of George I. “It is and ever was my opinion,” says De Foe in his Appeal, “that moderation is the only virtue by which the tranquillity of this nation can be preserved; and even the king himself, (I believe his majesty will allow me that freedom,) can only be happy in the enjoyment of the crown, by a moderate administration: if he should be obliged, contrary to his known disposition, to join with intemperate councils, if it does not lessen his security, I am persuaded it will lessen his satisfaction. To attain at the happy calm, which is the consideration that should move us all, (and he would merit to be called the nation’s physician, who could prescribe the specific for it,) I think I may be allowed to say, a conquest of parties will

^h The most solemn asseverations, and the most unanswerable arguments of our author, were not, after all, believed. When Charles King republished *The British Merchant*, in 1721, he without a scruple attributed *The Mercator* to a hiring writer of a weekly paper called the Review. And Anderson, at a still later period, goes further in his *Chronology of Commerce*, and names De Foe, as the hiring writer of the *Mercator*, and other papers in favour of the French treaty of trade. We can now judge with the impartiality of arbitrators: on the one hand, there are the living challenge, and the death-bed declaration of De Foe; on the other, the mere surmise and unauthorised assertion of King, Anderson, and others, who detract from their own veracity by their own factiousness, or foolery. It is surely time to free ourselves from prejudices of every kind, and to disregard the sound of names as much as the falsehoods of party.

never do it, a balance of parties may." Such was the political testament of De Foe; which it had been happy for Britain, had it been as faithfully executed as it was wisely made!

The year 1715 may be regarded as the period of our author's political life. Faction henceforth found other advocates, and parties procured other writers to propagate their falsehoods. Yet when a cry was raised against foreigners, on the accession of George I. The True-born Englishman was revived, rather by Roberts, the bookseller, than by De Foe the authorⁱ. But the persecutions of party did not cease when De Foe ceased to be a party-writer. He was insulted by Boyer, in April, 1716, as the author of The Triennial Act impartially stated: "but whatever was offered," says Boyer, "against the septennial bill, was fully confuted by the ingenious and judicious Joseph Addison, esquire. Whether De Foe wrote in defence of the people's rights, or in support of the law's authority, he is to be censured: whether Addison defended the septennial bill, or the peerage bill, he is to be praised. With the same misconception of the fact, and malignity of spirit, Toland reviled^k De Foe for writing an answer to The State of Anatomy, in 1717. The time however will at last come, when the world will judge of men from their actions rather than pretensions.

The death of Anne, and the accession of George I. seem to have convinced De Foe of the vanity of party-writing. And from this eventful epoch, he appears to have studied how to meliorate rather than to harden the heart; how to regulate, more than to vitiate, the practice of life.

ⁱ It was entered at Stationers'-hall, for J. Roberts, the 18th of February, 1715-16.

^k 2nd Mem. p. 27, &c.

Early in 1715 he published *The Family Instructor*, in three parts : 1st, relating to fathers and children ; 2nd, to masters and servants ; 3rd, to husbands and wives. He carefully concealed his authorship, lest the good effects of his labour should be obstructed by the great imperfections of the writer. The world was then too busy to look immediately into the work. The bookseller soon procured a recommendatory letter from the Rev. Samuel Wright, a well-known preacher in the Blackfriars. It was praised from the pulpit and the press : and the utility of the end, with the attractiveness of the execution, gave it, at length, a general reception¹. The author's first design was to write a dramatic poem ; but the subject was too solemn, and the text too copious, to admit of restraint, or to allow excursions. His purpose was to divert and instruct, at the same moment ; and by giving it a dramatic form, it has been called by some a religious play. De Foe at last says with his usual archness : As to its being called a play, be it called so, if they please : it must be confessed, some parts of it are too much acted in many families among us. The author wishes, that either all our plays were as useful for the improvement and entertainment of the world, or that they were less encouraged. There is, I think, some mysticism in the preface, which, it were to be desired, a judicious hand would expunge, when *The Family Instructor* shall be again reprinted ; for, reprinted it will be, while our language endures ; at least, while wise

¹ The family of George I. had been instructed by the copy of this book, which is in the Museum. It would seem from the title-page and Mr. Wright's letter being printed on a different paper from the work itself, that both were added after the first publication. *The Family Instructor* and Mr. Wright's letter were entered at Stationers'-hall, for Emanuel Mathews, on the 31st of March, 1715

men shall continue to consider the influences of religion and the practice of morals as of the greatest use to society ^m.

De Foe afterwards added a second volume, in two parts; 1st, relating to Family Breaches; 2ndly, to the great Mistake of mixing the Passions in the managing of Children. He considered it, indeed, as a bold adventure to write a second volume of anything; there being a general opinion among modern readers, that second parts never come up to the spirit of the first. He quotes Mr. Milton, for differing from the world upon the question, and for affirming with regard to his own great performances, That the people had a general sense of the loss of Paradise, but not an equal gust for regaining it. Of De Foe's second volume, it will be easily allowed, that it is as instructive and pleasing as the first. His Religious Courtship, which he published in 1722, may properly be considered as a third volume: for the design is equally moral, the manner is equally attractive, and it may in the same manner be called a religious play ⁿ.

But the time at length came, when De Foe was to deliver to the world the most popular of all his performances. In April, 1719, he published the well-known Life and surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe ^o. The reception was immediate

^m When Mr. Chalmers wrote, it had been reprinted at least seventeen times. It is a work which has had great circulation.

ⁿ Mr. Wilson considers that De Foe, in the year 1717, published the *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, in Four Periods: with an Appendix of some Transactions since the Union. [*Life of De Foe*, vol. iii. p. 418.] And also the *Life of Dr. Daniel Williams*, the eminent presbyterian divine, founder of the well-known dissenters' library, in Redcross-street. [*Ib.* p. 423.]

^o The title was, *The Life and strange surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner, who lived eight-and-*

and universal ; and Tayler, who purchased the manuscript after every bookseller had refused it, is said to have gained a thousand pounds. If it be inquired by what charm it is that these surprising Adventures should have instantly pleased, and always pleased, it will be found, that few books have ever so naturally mingled amusement with instruction. The attention is fixed, either by the simplicity of the narration, or by the variety of the incidents ; the heart is amended by a vindication of the ways of God to man : and the understanding is informed by various examples, how much utility ought to be preferred to ornament : the young are instructed, while the old are amused.

Robinson Crusoe had scarcely drawn his canoe ashore, when he was attacked by his old enemies, the savages. He was assailed first by *The Life and strange Adventures of Mr. D—— De F—, of London, Hosier, who has lived above Fifty Years by himself in the Kingdoms of North and South Britain.* In a dull dialogue between De Foe, Crusoe, and his man Friday, our author's life is lampooned, and his misfortunes ridiculed. But he who had been struck by apoplexy, and who was now discountenanced by power, was no fit object of an Englishman's satire. Our author declares, when he was himself a writer of satiric poetry, "that he never reproached any man for his private infirmities, for having his house burnt, his ships cast away, or his family ruined ; nor had he ever lampooned any one, because he could not pay his debts, or differed in judgment from him." Pope has been justly cen-

twenty Years all alone in an uninhabited Island on the Coast of America, near the mouth of the great River Oroonoke, having been cast on shore by Shipwreck, wherein all the men perished but himself. With an Account how he was at last strangely delivered by Pirates. Written by Himself.

sured for pursuing a vein of satire extremely dissimilar. And Pope placed De Foe with Tutchin, in *The Dunciad*, when our author's infirmities were greater and his comfort less. He was again assaulted in 1719, by *An Epistle to D—— De F——*, the reputed Author of *Robinson Crusoe*. "Mr. Foe," says the letter-writer, "I have perused your pleasant story of *Robinson Crusoe*; and if the faults of it had extended no further than the frequent solecisms and incorrectness of style, improbabilities, and sometimes impossibilities, I had not given you the trouble of this epistle." "Yet," said Johnson to Piozzi, "was there ever anything written by mere man that was wished longer by its readers, except *Don Quixote*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and the *Pilgrim's Progress*?" This epistolary critic, who renewed his angry attack when the second volume appeared, has all the dulness, without the acumen,

P "No fiction in any language," said Dr. Blair in his elegant *Lectures on Rhetoric*, "was ever better supported than the *Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*. While it is carried on with that appearance of truth and simplicity, which takes a strong hold of the imagination of all readers, it suggests at the same time very useful instruction, by showing how much the native power of man may be exerted for surmounting the difficulties of any external situation." "*Robinson Crusoe*," said Marmon-
tel, "is the first book I ever read with exquisite pleasure; and I believe every boy in Europe might say the same thing." In his *Emile*, Rousseau says, "Since we must have books, this is one, which, in my opinion, is a most excellent treatise on natural education. This is the first my Emilius shall read; his whole library shall long consist of this work only, which shall preserve an eminent rank to the very last. It shall be the text to which all our conversations on natural science are to serve only as a comment. It shall be a guide during our progress to maturity of judgment; and so long as our taste is not adulterated, the perusal of this book will afford us pleasure. And what surprising book is this? Is it Aristotle? Is it Pliny? Is it Buffon? No, it is *Robinson Crusoe*." In this judgment Dr. Beattie concurred.—ED.

of Dennis, and all his malignity, without his purpose of reformation. The *Life of Crusoe* has passed through innumerable editions, and has been translated into foreign languages, while the criticism sunk into oblivion.

De Foe set the critics at defiance while he had the people on his side. As a commercial legislator he knew, that it is rapid sale that is the great incentive: and, in August, 1719, he published a second volume of *Surprising Adventures*, with similar success^a. In hope of profit and of praise, he produced in August, 1720, *Serious Reflections during the Life of Robinson Crusoe, with his Vision of the Angelic World*. He acknowledges that the present work is not merely the product of the two first volumes, but the two first may rather be called the product of this: the fable is always made for the moral, not the moral for the fable. He, however, did not advert, that instruction must be insinuated rather than enforced. That this third volume has more morality than fable, is the cause I fear, that it has never been read with the same avidity as the former two, or spoken of with the same approbation. We all prefer amusement to instruction; and he who would inculcate useful truths, must study to amuse, or he will offer his lessons to an auditory, neither numerous, nor attentive.

The tongue of detraction is seldom at rest. It has often been repeated that De Foe had surreptitiously appropriated the papers of Alexander Selkirk, a Scotch mariner, who having lived solitary on the

^a The title was, *The further Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*; being the second and last Part of his Life, and the strange surprising Accounts of his Travels round three Parts of the Globe. Written by Himself. To which is added, a Map of the World, in which is delineated the Voyages of Robinson Crusoe. 1719.

isle of Juan Fernandez, four years and four months, was relieved on the 2nd of February, 1708-9, by captain Woodes Rogers, in his cruising voyage round the world. But let no one draw inferences till the fact be first ascertained. The adventures of Selkirk had been thrown into the air, in 1712, for literary hawks to devour^r; and De Foe may

^r The whole story of Selkirk is told in Woodes Rogers' voyage, which he published in 1712, from p. 125 to 131, inclusive: whence it appears that Selkirk had preserved no pen, ink, or paper, and had lost his language; so that he had no journal or papers, which he could communicate, or by others could be stolen. There is an account of Selkirk in *The Englishman*, No. 26, written by Steele. The particular manner how Alexander Selkirk lived four years and four months, in the isle of Juan Fernandez, is related in captain Cook's voyage into the South Sea, which was published in 1712. And Selkirk's tale was told in the *Memoirs of Literature*, vol. v. p. 118: so that the world was fully possessed of Selkirk's story, in 1712, seven years prior to the publication of *Crusoe's Adventures*. Nor were his adventures singular; for, Ringrose mentions in his account of captain Sharp's voyage, a person who had escaped singly from a ship that had been wrecked on Juan Fernandez, and who lived alone five years before he was relieved: and Dampier mentions a Mosquito indian, who having been accidentally left on this island, subsisted three years solitarily, till that voyager carried him off. From which of these De Foe borrowed his great incident, it is not easy to discover. In the preface to *The Serious Reflections*, he indeed says, "That there is a man alive and well known, the actions of whose life are the just subject of these volumes, and to whom the most part of the story directly alludes." This turns the scale in favour of Selkirk. Nor, was the name of *Crusoe* wholly fictitious; for, among De Foe's contemporaries, John Dunton speaks of Timothy *Crusoe*, who was called the Golden Preacher, and was so great a textuary, that he could pray two hours together in scripture language; but, he was not arrived at perfection, as appeared by his sloth in tying the conjugal knot; yet his repentance was sincere and public, and I fear not but he is now a glorified saint in heaven. [*Life and Errors*, p. 461.] The whole story of Selkirk, as told by Rogers, is reprinted in the present edition. *Rob. Crusoe*, vol. i. p. xxiii.

have caught a common prey, which he converted to the uses of his intellect, and distributed for the purposes of his interest^s. Thus he may have fairly acquired the fundamental incident of Crusoe's life; but, he did not borrow the various events, the useful moralities, or the engaging style. Few men could write such a poem; and few Selkirks could imitate so pathetic an original. It was the happiness of De Foe, that as many writers have succeeded in relating enterprises by land, he excelled in narrating adventures by sea, with such felicities of language, such attractive varieties, such insinuating instruction, as have seldom been equalled, but never surpassed^t.

While De Foe in this manner busied himself in writing adventures which have charmed every reader, a rhyming fit returned on him. He published in 1720, *The complete Art of Painting*, which he did into English from the French of Du Fresnoy. Dryden had given, in 1695, a translation of Du Fresnoy's poem, which has been esteemed for its knowledge of the sister arts. What could tempt De Foe to this undertaking it is not easy to discover, unless we may suppose that he hoped to gain a few guineas, without much labour of the head or hand. Dryden has been justly praised for relinquishing vicious habits of composition, and adopting better models for his muse. De Foe, after he

^s Dr. Towers agrees with Mr. Chalmers. [*Biog. Brit.*] "The fact appears to have been that the charge against De Foe of having taken his work from Selkirk's manuscripts, or from communication of any kind made by Selkirk, is wholly groundless, and of which he himself never heard; for we do not find that the least hint of any such accusation against him was ever published during his lifetime." And Mr. D'Israeli [*Curios. of Literat.* vol. iii. p. 285.] considers the point settled in favour of De Foe, by captain Burney's *Voyages and Discoveries*.

^t It has been frequently imitated, but never with success.

had seen the correctness, and heard the music of Pope, remained unambitious of accurate rhymes, and regardless of sweeter numbers. His politics and his poetry, for which he was long famous among biographers, would not have preserved his name beyond the fleeting day ; yet I suspect that, in imitation of Milton, he would have preferred his *Jure Divino* to his *Robinson Crusoe*.

De Foe lived not then, however, in pecuniary distress ; for his genius and his industry were to him the mines of Potosi : and in 1722, he obtained from the corporation of Colchester, though my inquiries have not discovered by what interposition, a ninety-nine years' lease of Kingswood-heath, at a yearly rent of a hundred and twenty pounds, with a fine of five hundred pounds^u. This transaction seems to evince a degree of wealth much above want, though the assignment of his lease not long after to Walter Bernard equally proves, that he could not easily hold what he had thus obtained. Kingswood-heath is now worth 300*l.* a year, and is advertised for sale by Bennet, the present possessor.

Whatever may have been his opulence, our author did not waste his subsequent life in unprofitable idleness. No one can be idly employed who endeavours to make his fellow subjects better citizens and wiser men. This will sufficiently appear if we consider his future labours, under the distinct heads of voyages ; fictitious biography ; moralities, either grave or ludicrous ; domestic travels ; and tracts on trade.

The success of *Crusoe* induced De Foe to publish, in 1720, *The Life and Piracies of Captain Singleton*, though not with similar success ; the plan is narrower, and the performance is less amusing. In 1725, he

^u Morant's Colchester, p. 134.

gave *A New Voyage Round the World*, by a Course never sailed before. Most voyagers have had this misfortune, that whatever success they had in the adventure, they had very little in the narration; they are indeed full of the incidents of sailing, but they have nothing of story for the use of readers who never intend to brave the dangers of the sea. These faults De Foe is studious to avoid in his new voyage. He spreads before his readers such adventures as no writer of a real voyage can hope to imitate, if we except the teller of Anson's tale. In the life of *Crusoe* we are gratified by continually imagining that the fiction is a fact; in the *Voyage Round the World* we are pleased by constantly perceiving that the fact is a fiction, which, by uncommon skill, is made more interesting than a genuine voyage.

Of fictitious biography it is equally true, that by matchless art it may be made more instructive than a real life. Few of our writers have excelled De Foe in this kind of biographical narration, the great qualities of which are, to attract by the diversity of circumstances, and to instruct by the usefulness of examples.

He published, in 1720, *The History of Duncan Campbell*. Of a person who was born deaf and dumb, but who himself taught the deaf and dumb to understand, it is easy to see that the life would be extraordinary. It will be found, that the author has intermixed some disquisitions of learning, and has contrived that the merriest passages shall end with some edifying moral*. *The Fortunes and Mis-*

* Before the *History of Duncan Campbell*, De Foe published similar work, called *The Dumb Philosopher, or Great Britain's Wonder*. Containing, 1. A faithful and very surprising account how Dickory Cronke, a tinner's son, in the county of Cornwall, who was born dumb and continued so for fifty-eight years, and how some days before he died he came to his speech ;

fortunes of Moll Flanders were made to gratify the world, in 1721. De Foe was aware, that in relating a vicious life, it was necessary to make the best use of a bad story; and he artfully endeavours, that the reader shall be more pleased with the moral than the fable; with the application than the relation; with the end of the writer than the adventures of the person. There was published in 1721, a work of a similar tendency, *The Life of Colonel Jack*, who was born a gentleman but was bred a pickpocket. Our author is studious to convert his various adventures into a delightful field, where the reader might gather herbs, wholesome and medicinal, without the incommodation of plants, poisonous or noxious. In 1724 appeared *The Life of Roxana*. Scenes of crimes can scarcely be represented in such a manner, says De Foe, but some make a criminal use of them; but when vice is painted in its low-prized colours, it is not to make people love what from the frightfulness of the figures they ought necessarily to hate. Yet, I am not convinced, that the world has been made much wiser, or better, by the perusal of these lives; they may have diverted the lower orders, but I doubt if they have much improved them; if however they have not made them better, they have not left them worse. But they do not exhibit many scenes which are welcome to cultivated minds. Of a very different quality are the *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, during the civil wars in England, which seem to have been published without a date. This is a romance the likeliest to truth that ever was written^y. It is a narrative of great events, which is drawn with

with memoirs of his life and the manner of his death, &c. This is a curious pamphlet.

^y Lord Chatham is said to have long considered it a genuine history. In 1726 De Foe published a similar book, *The Military LIFE*.

such simplicity, and enlivened with such reflections, as to inform the ignorant and entertain the wise.

The moralities of De Foe, whether published in single volumes, or interspersed through many passages, must at last give him a superiority over the crowd of his contemporaries². The approbation which has been long given to his *Family Instructor*, and his *Religious Courtship*, seem to contain the favourable decision of his countrymen³. But there are still other performances of this nature, which are now to be mentioned, of not inferior merit.

De Foe published, in 1722, *A Journal of the Plague in 1665*. The author's artifice consists in fixing the reader's attention by the deep distress of fellow-men; and, by recalling the reader's recollection to striking examples of mortality, he endeavours to inculcate the uncertainty of life, and the usefulness of reformation. In 1724, De Foe published *The great Law of Subordination*. This is an admirable commentary on the *Unsufferable Behaviour of Servants*. Yet, though he interest by his mode, inform by his facts, and convince by his argument, he fails at last, by expecting from law what must proceed from manners^b. Our author gave *The Political*

Memoirs of Captain George Carleton. From the Dutch war, 1672, in which he served, to the conclusion of the peace at Utrecht, 1713, &c. 1728. This work was a great favourite with Dr. Johnson.

² Mr. Wilson quotes this passage from Mr. Chalmers, and refers to another work published by De Foe, in 1720, not mentioned in the text; *Christian Conversation*, in six dialogues, about Assurance—Mortification—Natural Things—Spiritualized—Union—Afflictions—Death.

^a These admirable works are reprinted in the present edition.

^b He also published, *Everybody's Business is Nobody's Business*; or *Private Abuses, Public Grievances*. Exemplified in the pride, insolence, and exorbitant wages of our women-servants, footmen, &c. -725.

History of the Devil, in 1726. The matter and the mode conjoin to make this a charming performance. He engages poetry and prose, reasoning and wit, persuasion and ridicule, on the side of religion and morals, with wonderful efficacy. De Foe wrote *A System of Magic* in 1726^c. This may be properly regarded as a supplement to the *History of the Devil*. His end and his execution are exactly the same.

^c And also, in 1727, *An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions*, being an account of what they are, and what they are not. As also how we may distinguish between the Apparitions of Good and Evil Spirits, and how we ought to behave to them. With a great variety of surprising and diverting examples, never published before. These three works of De Foe are reprinted in the present edition. In 1726 he also published an *Essay upon Literature*, or *An Inquiry into the Antiquity and Original of Letters, &c.*, and *An Account of Peter the wild Boy*, then lately discovered in one of the German forests. This latter work is entitled *Mere Nature Delineated*; or, *A Body Without a Soul*. Being Observations upon the young Forester lately brought to Town from Germany. With suitable applications. Also a *Brief Dissertation upon the usefulness and necessity of Fools*, whether political or natural. In the year 1727, in addition to the work mentioned by Mr. Chalmers, De Foe published *The Protestant Monastery*; or, *A Complaint against the Brutality of the present Age*, particularly the Pertness and Insolence of our Youth to Aged Persons, with a Caution to People in years how they give the staff out of their own hands, and leave themselves at the mercy of others. Concluding with a Proposal for erecting a Protestant Monastery, where persons of small fortunes may end their days in plenty, ease, and credit, without burdening their relations, or accepting public charities, And *Parochial Tyranny*; or, *The Housekeeper's Complaint against the insupportable Exactions and partial Assessments of Select Vestries, &c.*, with a Plain Detection of many Abuses committed in the distribution of public charities. Together with a practicable proposal for amending the same, which will not only take off great part of the parish taxes now subsisting, but ease parishioners from serving troublesome offices, or paying exorbitant fines. Both these works are published under the assumed name of Andrew Moreton, esq. The last was quoted by Mr. (now sir John) Hobhouse when bringing in his bill for

He could see no great harm in the present pretenders to magic, if the poor people would but keep their money in their pockets; and that they should have their pockets picked by such an unperforming, unmeaning, ignorant crew as these are, is the only magic De Foe could see in the whole science. But the reader will discover in our author's system, extensive erudition, salutary remark, and useful satire. De Foe published in 1727, his *Treatise on the Use and Abuse of the Marriage-Bed*. The author had begun this performance thirty years before; he delayed the publication, though it had been long finished, in hopes of reformation. But being now grown old, and out of the reach of scandal, and despairing of amendment from a vicious age, he thought proper to close his days with this satire. He appealed to that judge, before whom he expected soon to appear, that as he had done it with an upright intention, so he had used his utmost endeavour to perform it in a manner which was the least liable to reflection, and the most answerable to the end of it—the reformation of the guilty. After such an appeal, and such asseverations, I will only remark, that this is an excellent book with an improper title-page.

We are now to consider our author's *Tours*. He published his *Travels through England*, in 1724 and 1725; and through *Scotland*, in 1727. De Foe was not one of those travellers who seldom quit the banks of the Thames. He had made wide excursions over all those countries, with observant eyes and a vigorous intellect. The great artifice of these volumes consists in the frequent mention of

the regulation of parish select vestries into the house of commons, in April 1829. (*Hansard, Parl. Deb. vol. xxi. p. 898.*)

such men and things, as are always welcome to the reader's mind ^d.

^d He says, "The preparations for this work have been suitable to my earnest concern for its usefulness. Seventeen very large circuits, or journeys, have been taken through divers parts separately, and three general tours over almost the whole English part of the island ; in all which the author has not been wanting to treasure up just remarks upon particular places and things. Besides these several journeys in England, he has also lived some time in Scotland, and has travelled critically over great part of it : he has viewed the north part of England, and the south part of Scotland, five several times over ; all which is hinted here, to let the readers know what reason they have to be satisfied with the authority of the relation."

The first of these Tours was published in 1724, under the title of, *A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain, divided into Circuits and Journeys. Giving a particular and diverting Account of whatever is Curious and worth Observation, viz. I. A Description of the principal Cities and Towns ; their Situations, Magnitude, Government, and Commerce. II. The Customs, Manners, Spirit ; as also, the Exercises, Diversions, and Employment of the People. III. The Produce and Improvement of the Lands, the Trade and Manufactures. IV. The Seaports and Fortifications, the course of Rivers, and Inland Navigation. V. The Public Edifices, Seats, and Palaces of the Nobility and Gentry. With useful Observations on the whole. Particularly fitted for the reading of such as desire to travel over the island. By a Gentleman.*

The favourable reception of this volume, encouraged the author to follow it by a second in the next year, with a similar title, and the addition of a map of South Britain, by Herman Moll, the geographer. A third volume, the same also in title, was added in 1727, containing the northern counties of England, and the south of Scotland ; and this completes the work. The useful information contained in these volumes, is conveyed in the familiar form of letters. In commending the work to the notice of the public, he says, "I have endeavoured that these letters shall not be a journal of trifles. If it is on that account too grave for some people, I hope it will not for others. I have studied the advancement and increase of knowledge for those that read, and shall be as glad to make them wise, as to make them merry ; yet I hope they will not find the story so ill told, or so dull, as to tire them so soon, or so

De Foe's Commercial Tracts are to be reviewed lastly. Whether his fancy gradually failed, as age hastily advanced, I am unable to tell. He certainly began, in 1726, to employ his pen more frequently on the real business of common life. He published, in 1727, *The Complete English Tradesman*; directing him in the several parts of trade. A second volume soon after followed, which was addressed chiefly to the more experienced and more opulent traders. In these treatises the tradesman found many directions of business, and many lessons of prudence^e. De Foe was not one of those writers, who consider private vices as public benefits: God forbid, he exclaims, that I should be understood to prompt the vices of the age, in order to promote any practice of traffic: trade need not be destroyed though vice were mortally wounded. With this salutary spirit he published, in 1728, *A Plan of the English Commerce*^f. This seems to be the conclu-

barren as to put them to sleep over it. The observations here made, as they principally regard the present state of things, so, as near as can be, they are adapted to the present state of the times."

^e This highly useful book is reprinted in the present edition, and should be in the hands of every young tradesman.

^f The title is as follows: *A Plan of the English Commerce. Being a complete Prospect of the Trade of this Nation, as well the Home Trade as the Foreign. In three parts. I. Containing a View of the present Magnitude of the English Trade, as it respects, 1. The Exportation of our own Growth and Manufacture. 2. The Importation of Merchant Goods from Abroad. 3. The prodigious Consumption of both at Home. Part II. Containing an Answer to that great and important Question now depending, whether our Trade, and especially our Manufactures, are in a declining condition or no? Part III. Containing several Proposals entirely new, for extending and improving our Trade, and promoting the Consumption of our Manufactures in Countries wherewith we have hitherto had no Commerce. Humbly offered to the Consideration of King and Parliament.*

sion of what he had begun in 1713. In 1728, Gee printed his *Trade and Navigation considered*. De Foe insisted, that our industry, our commerce, our opulence, and our people, had increased and were increasing. Gee represented that our manufactures had received mortal stabs; that our poor were destitute, and our country miserable. De Foe maintained the truth, which experience has taught to unwilling auditors. Gee asserted the falsehood, without knowing the fact: yet Gee is quoted, while De Foe with all his knowledge of the subject, as a commercial writer, is almost forgotten. The reason may be found perhaps in the characteristic remark with which he opens his plan: Trade, like religion, is what everybody talks of, but few understand.

When curiosity has contemplated such copiousness, such variety, and such excellence, it naturally inquires which was the last of De Foe's performances? Were we to determine from the date of the title page, the *Plan of Commerce* must be admitted to be his last. But if we must judge from his prefatory declaration, in *The Abuse of the Marriage-Bed*, where he talks of closing his days with this satire, which he was so far from seeing cause of being ashamed of, that he hoped he should not be ashamed of it where he was going to account for it, we must finally decide, that our author closed his career "with this upright intention for the good of mankind &."

§ He appears to have published two or three works after the *Plan of English Commerce*, under the assumed name of Andrew Moreton. The first a very remarkable work for the suggestions it contains in anticipation of another age. *Augusta Triumphans*; or, *The Way to make London the most flourishing City in the Universe*. I. By establishing an University, where Gentlemen may have Academical Education under the Eye of their Friends. II. To prevent much Mur-

De Foe, after those innumerable labours, which I have thus endeavoured to recall to the public recollection, died in April, 1731, within the parish of

der, &c., by an Hospital for Foundlings. III. By suppressing pretended Madhouses, where many of the Fair Sex are unjustly confined, while their Husbands keep Mistresses, &c., and many Widows are locked up for the sake of their Jointure. IV. To save our Youth from Destruction, by clearing our Streets of impudent Strumpets, suppressing Gaming Tables, and Sunday Debauches. V. To avoid the expensive Importation of Foreign Musicians, by forming an Academy of our own. VI. To save our lower Class of People from utter Ruin, and render them useful, by preventing the immoderate Use of Geneva. With a frank exposure of many other common Abuses, and incontestible Rules for Amendment. Concluding with an effectual Method to prevent Street Robberies. And a Letter to Col. Robinson, on Account of the Orphans' Tax.

The second pamphlet, published in 1729, is entituled, *Second Thoughts are Best*; or a further Improvement of a late Scheme to prevent Street Robberies. In which our Streets will be so strongly guarded, and so gloriously illuminated, that any part of London will be as safe and pleasant at Midnight as at Noonday; and Burglary totally impracticable. With some Thoughts for suppressing Robberies in all the public Roads of England, &c. Humbly offered for the Good of his Country, submitted to the consideration of the Parliament, and dedicated to his sacred Majesty King George II. By Andrew Moreton, Esq.

Mr. Wilson has given the analysis of what must be considered the last literary effort of De Foe. The MS. work is in the possession of the Rev. Henry De Foe Baker, by whose kindness Mr. Wilson was permitted to examine it. [See *Life of De Foe*, vol. iii. p. 599.] The analysis is as follows:

The *Complete Gentleman*, containing useful Observations on the general Neglect of Education of English Gentlemen, with the Reason and Remedies. The apparent Differences between a Well-born and Well-bred Gentleman. And Instructions how Gentlemen may recover a Deficiency of their Latin, and be Men of Learning without the Pedantry of Schools.

Chap. I. Of the gentlemen born, in the common acceptation of the word, and as the gentry amongst us are pleased to

St. Giles's, Cripplegate, London, at an age, if he were born in 1663, when it was time to prepare for his last voyage. He left a widow, Susannah, who did not long survive him, and six sons and daughters, whom he boasts of having educated as well as his circumstances would admit. His son Daniel is said to have emigrated to Carolina; of Benjamin, his second son, no account can be given^h. His

understand it. Chap. II. Some examples from history, and from good information, of the want of care taken in the education of princes, and children of the nobility in former times, as well in this nation as in foreign countries, and how fatal the effects of it have been in their future conduct; with some few examples of the contrary also. Chap. III. Examples of the different educations of princes and persons of rank from the beginning of the sixteenth century, viz., from the reign of Henry VIII. inclusive. With observations down to the present time, on the happiness of those reigns in general, when the princes have been educated in principles of honour and virtue; and something of the contrary. Chap. IV. Of royal education. Chap. V. The head of this chapter is erased. Chap. VI. Of the G——; of himself, his family, and fortune.

Part the Second. Chap. I. Of the fund for increase of our nobility and gentry in England: being the beginning of those we call bred gentlemen: with some account of difference. Chap. II. There is no head to this chapter. Chap. III. Of the general ignorance of the English gentry, and the true cause of it in the manner of their introduction into life. Chap. IV. Of what may be the unhappy cause of the general defect in the education of our gentry; with a rational proposal for preventing those consequences.

^h His latter days were stung by the base ingratitude and unfilial and unbrotherly conduct of his son, to whom, in a touching letter to Mr. Baker, he says he transferred his property, with the duty of maintaining his mother and sisters, and that he positively squandered it upon himself! Mr. Wilson has obtained permission from the great great grandson of Mr. Baker, the gentleman mentioned in the text, to publish the letter from De Foe to his ancestor. It gives a most distressing picture of the sorrows amid which his useful life closed; but as it is the duty of history faithfully and not fancifully to relate the lives of illustrious men, and the constant exposure of the world's in-

youngest daughter Sophia, married Mr. Henry Baker, a person more respectable as a philosopher than a poet, who died in 1774, at the age of seventy.

gratitude to its best benefactors, may in time shame it to a better feeling, we leave the true but mournful tale to speak its own lesson : and however agreeable it might have been to show the author of Robinson Crusoe gradually quitting the world he had spent his useful life to improve and delight, in the quiet and repose which might seem the harbinger of the peace he anticipated in a brighter, we must take leave of him, while in misery and in anger, surrounded by clouds and darkness, and stung by the worst of sorrows.

“ Dear Mr. Baker,

“ I have your very kind and affectionate letter of the 1st : but not come to my hand till the 16th ; where it had been delayed I know not. As your kind manner, and kinder thought, from which it flows, (for I take all you say to be as I always believed you to be, sincere and Nathaniel-like, without guile) was a particular satisfaction to me ; so the stop of a letter, however it happened, deprived me of that cordial too many days, considering how much I stood in need of it, to support a mind sinking under the weight of an affliction too heavy for my strength, and looking on myself as abandoned of every comfort, every friend, and every relation, except such only as are able to give me no assistance.

“ I was sorry you should say at the beginning of your letter, you were debarred seeing me ; depend upon my sincerity for this, I am far from debarring you. On the contrary, it would be a greater comfort to me than any I now enjoy, that I could have your agreeable visits with safety, and could see both you and my dearest Sophia, could it be without giving her the grief of seeing her father *in tenebris*, and under the load of insupportable sorrows. I am sorry I must open my griefs so far as to tell her, it is not the blow I received from a wicked, perjured, and contemptible enemy, that has broken in upon my spirit ; which she well knows has carried me on through greater disasters than these. But it has been the injustice, unkindness, and, I must say, inhuman dealing of my own son, which has both ruined my family, and, in a word, has broken my heart ; and as I am at this time under a weight of very heavy illness, which I think will be a fever, I take this occasion to vent my grief in the breasts who I know will make a prudent use of it, and tell you that nothing but this has conquered me, or could

His daughter Maria married one Langley; but Hannah and Henrietta probably remained unmarried, since they were heiresses only of a name, which did not recommend them. With regard to

conquer me. *Et tu! Brute.* I depended upon him, I trusted him, I gave up my two dear unprovided children into his hands; but he had no compassion, and suffered them and their poor dying mother to beg their bread at his door, and to crave, as if it were an alms, what he is bound under hand and seal, besides the most sacred promises, to supply them with; himself at the same time living in a profusion of plenty. It is too much for me. Excuse my infirmity, I can say no more; my heart is too full. I only ask one thing of you as a dying request. Stand by them when I am gone, and let them not be wronged, while he is able to do them right. Stand by them as a brother; and if you have anything within you owing to my memory, who have bestowed on you the best gift I had to give, let them not be injured and trampled on by false pretences, and unnatural reflections. I hope they will want no help but that of comfort and counsel; but that they will indeed want, being so easy to be managed by words and promises.

"It adds to my grief that it is so difficult to me to see you. I am at a distance from London, in Kent; nor have a lodging in London, nor have I been at that place in the Old Bailey since I wrote you I was removed from it. At present I am weak, having had some fits of a fever that have left me low. But those things much more.

"I have not seen son or daughter, wife or child, many weeks, and know not which way to see them. They dare not come by water, and by land here is no coach, and I know not what to do.

"It is not possible for me to come to Enfield, unless you could find a retired lodging for me, where I might not be known, and might have the comfort of seeing you both now and then; upon such a circumstance, I could gladly give the days to solitude, to have the comfort of half an hour now and then with you both for two or three weeks. But just to come and look at you, and retire immediately, it is a burden too heavy. The parting will be a pain beyond the enjoyment.

"I would say, I hope, with comfort, that it is yet well. I am so near my journey's end, and am hastening to the place where the 'weary are at rest, and the wicked cease to trouble;' but that the passage is rough, and the day stormy, by what

Norton, from Daniel and Ostræa sprungⁱ,
 Bless'd with his father's front, and mother's
 tongue,

it is only said that he was a wretched writer in the Flying Post, and the author of Alderman Barber's Life. De Foe probably died insolvent; for letters of administration on his goods and chattels were granted to Mary Brooke, widow, a creditrix, in September, 1733, after summoning in official form the

way soever He pleases to bring me to the end of it, I desire to finish life with this temper of soul in all cases: *Te Deum laudamus.*

"I congratulate you on the occasion of your happy advance in your employment. May all you do be prosperous, and all you meet with pleasant, and may you both escape the tortures and troubles of uneasy life. May you sail the dangerous voyage of life with a forcing wind, and make the port of heaven without a storm.

"It adds to my grief, that I must never see the pledge of your mutual love, my little grandson. Give him my blessing, and may he be to you both your joy in youth, and your comfort in age, and never add a sigh to your sorrow. But, alas! that is not to be expected. Kiss my dear Sophy once more for me; and if I must see her no more, tell her this is from a father that loved her above all his comforts, to his last breath.

"Your unhappy,

D. F.

"About two miles from Greenwich, Kent,

Tuesday, August 12th, 1730.

"P. S. I wrote you a letter some months ago, in answer to one from you, about selling the house; but you never signified to me whether you received it. I have not the policy of assurance; I suppose my wife, or Hannah, may have it.

"Idem, D. F."

ⁱ Pope had collected this scandal from Savage, whosays in the preface to his Author to be Let, "Had it not been an honest livelihood for Mr. Norton, (Daniel De Foe's son of love by a lady who vended oysters,) to have dealt in a fish-market, than to be dealing out the dialects of Billingsgate in the Flying Post?"

next of kin to appear^k. John Dunton^l, who personally knew our author, describes him, in 1705, as a man of good parts and clear sense ; of a conversation, ingenious and brisk ; of a spirit, enterprising and bold, but of little prudence ; with good nature and real honesty. Of his petty habits, little now can be told, more than he has thus confessed himself^m : “ God, I thank thee, I am not a drunkard, or a swearer, or a whoremaster, or a busybody, or idle, or revengeful ; and though this be true, and I challenge all the world to prove the contrary, yet, I must own, I see small satisfaction in all the negatives of common virtues ; for though I have not been guilty of any of these vices, nor of many more, I have nothing to infer from thence, but *Te Deum laudamus*.” He says himself :

Confession will anticipate reproach,
He that reviles us then, reviles too much ;
All satire ceases when the men repent,
’Tis cruelty to lash the penitent.

When De Foe had arrived at sixty-five, while he was encumbered with a family, and, I fear, pinched with penury, Pope, endeavoured, by repeated strokes, to bring his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. This he did without propriety, and, as far as appears, without provocation ; for our author is not in the black list of scribblers, who by attempting to lessen the poet’s fame, incited the satirist’s indignation. The offence and the fate of Bentley and De Foe were nearly alike. Bentley would not allow the

^k The above-mentioned particulars were discovered by searching the books at Doctors Commons.

^l Life and Errors, 239–240.

^m In the preface to his Reformation.

translation to be Homer : De Foe had endeavoured to bring Milton into vogue seven years ere the *Paradise Lost* and *Chevy Chase* had been criticised in the *Spectators* by Addison. Our author had said in *More Reformation*,

Let this describe the nation's character,
One man reads Milton, forty———.
The case is plain, the temper of the time,
One wrote the lewd, the other the sublime.

An enraged poet alone could have thrust into the *Dunciad*, Bentley, a profound scholar, Cibber, a brilliant wit, and De Foe, a happy genius. This was the consequence of exalting satire as the test of truth ; while truth ought to have been enthroned the test of satire. Yet, it ought not to be forgotten, that De Foe has some sarcasm, in his *System of Magic*, on the *sylphs* and *gnomes*, which Pope may have deemed a daring invasion of his Rosicrutan territories.

De Foe has not yet outlived his century, though he have outlived most of his contemporaries. Yet the time is come, when he must be acknowledged as one of the ablest, as he is one of the most captivating, writers, of which this island can boast. Before he can be admitted to this pre-eminence, he must be considered distinctly, as a poet, as a novelist, as a polemic, as a commercial writer, and as a grave historian.

As a poet, we must look to the end of his effusions rather than to his execution, ere we can allow him considerable praise. To mollify national animosities, or to vindicate national rights, are certainly noble objects, which merit the vigour and imagination of Milton, or the flow and precision of Pope ; but our author's energy runs into harshness, and his sweet-

ness is to be tasted in his prose more than in his poesy. If we regard the *Adventures of Crusoe*, like *The Adventures of Telemachus*, as a poem, his moral, his incidents, and his language, must lift him high on the poet's scale. His professed poems, whether we contemplate the propriety of sentiment, or the suavity of numbers, may indeed, without much loss of pleasure or instruction, be resigned to those, who, in imitation of Pope, poach in the fields of obsolete poetry for brilliant thoughts, felicities of phrase, or for happy rhymes.

As a novelist, every one will place him in the foremost rank, who considers his originality, his performance, and his purpose. *The Ship of Fools* had indeed been launched in early times; but, who like De Foe, had ever carried his reader to sea, in order to mend the heart, and regulate the practice of life, by showing his readers the effect of adversity, or how they might equally be called to sustain his hero's trials, as they sailed round the world. But, without attractions, neither the originality, nor the end, can have any salutary consequence. This he had foreseen; and for this he has provided, by giving his adventures in a style so pleasing, because it is simple, and so interesting, because it is particular, that every one fancies he could write a similar language. It was, then, idle in Boyer formerly, or in Smollett lately, to speak of De Foe as a party writer, in little estimation. The writings of no author since have run through more numerous editions. And he whose works have pleased generally and pleased long, must be deemed a writer of no small estimation; the people's verdict being the proper test of what they are the proper judges.

As a polemic, I fear we must regard our author with less kindness, though it must be recollected, that he lived during a contentipus period, when two

parties distracted the nation, and writers indulged in great asperities. But, in opposition to reproach, let it ever be remembered, that he defended freedom, without anarchy; that he supported toleration, without libertinism; that he pleaded for moderation even amidst violence. With acuteness of intellect, with keenness of wit, with archness of diction, and pertinacity of design; it must be allowed that nature had qualified, in a high degree, De Foe for a disputant. His polemical treatises, whatever might have been their attractions once, may now be delivered without reserve to those who delight in polemical reading. De Foe, it must be allowed, was a party writer: But, were not Swift and Prior, Steel and Addison, Halifax and Bolingbroke, party writers? De Foe, being a party writer upon settled principles, did not change with the change of parties: Addison and Steel, Prior and Swift, connected as they were with persons, changed their note as persons were elevated or depressed.

As a commercial writer, De Foe is fairly entitled to stand in the foremost rank among his contemporaries, whatever may be their performances or their fame. Little would be his praise, to say of him, that he wrote on commercial legislation like Addison, who when he touches on trade, sinks into imbecility, without knowledge of fact, or power of argumentⁿ. The distinguishing characteristics of De Foe, as a commercial disquisitor, are originality and depth. He has many sentiments with regard to traffic, which are scattered through his Reviews, and which I never read in any other book. His *Giving Alms no Charity*, is a capital performance, with the

ⁿ See the *Present State of the War*, and the necessity of an augmentation. And see his *Commercial Papers in the Freeholder*.

exception of one or two thoughts about the abridgment of labour by machinery, which are either half formed or half expressed. Were we to compare De Foe with D'Avenant, it would be found, that D'Avenant has more detail from official documents; that De Foe has more fact from wider inquiry. D'Avenant is more apt to consider laws in their particular application; De Foe more frequently investigates commercial legislation in its general effects. From the publications of D'Avenant it is sufficiently clear, that he was not very regardful of means, or very attentive to consequences; De Foe is more correct in his motives, and more salutary in his ends. But, as a commercial prophet, De Foe must yield the palm to Child; who foreseeing from experience that men's conduct must finally be directed by their principles, foretold the colonial revolt: De Foe, allowing his prejudices to obscure his sagacity, reprobated that suggestion, because he deemed interest a more strenuous prompter than enthusiasm. Were we however to form an opinion, not from special passages, but from whole performances, we must incline to De Foe, when compared with the ablest contemporary: we must allow him the preference, on recollection, that when he writes on commerce he seldom fails to insinuate some axiom of morals, or to inculcate some precept of religion.

As an historian, it will be found, that our author had few equals in the English language, when he wrote. His *Memoirs of a Cavalier* show how well he could execute the lighter narratives. His *History of the Union* evinces that he was equal to the higher department of historic composition. This is an account of a single event, difficult indeed in its execution, but beneficial certainly in its consequences. With extraordinary skill and information, our author relates, not only the event, but the transactions

which preceded, and the effects which followed. He is at once learned and intelligent. Considering the factiousness of the age, his candour is admirable. His moderation is exemplary. And if he spoke of James I. as a tyrant, he only exercised the prerogative, which our historians formerly enjoyed, of casting obloquy on an unfortunate race, in order to supply deficiency of knowledge, of elegance, and of style. In this instance De Foe allowed his prejudice to overpower his philosophy. If the language of his narrative want the dignity of the great historians of the current times, it has greater facility; if it be not always grammatical, it is generally precise; and if it be thought defective in strength, it must be allowed to excel in sweetness.

Such then are the pretensions of De Foe to be acknowledged as one of the ablest and most useful writers of our island. He who still doubts may perhaps satisfy his greatest doubts, by perusing the chronological catalogue of our author's works, which I have compiled, in order to gratify the public curiosity; and which, for the greater distinctness, I have divided into two heads: 1st, Those writings that I think are certainly De Foe's: 2ndly, Those writings that are said to be his. As I do not pretend to perfect accuracy, it would be a favour to the world and to me, if any one, of more knowledge and leisure than I possess, would point out mistakes for the purpose of amendment. The zealous interposition of Mr. Lockyer Davis, and the liberal spirit of the Stationers' company, procured me the perusal of the register of books, which have been entered at Stationers-hall. I was surprised and disappointed to find so few of De Foe's writings entered as property, and his name never mentioned as an author or a man.

IN presenting to the public so complete an edition of the works of De Foe, the publishers feel that they are engaged in a truly national undertaking, interesting to all ranks of Englishmen, but peculiarly to the middle classes. De Foe was essentially a practical author, not only as regards his style, but his turn of mind, his choice of subjects, and his mode of handling them. He wrote voluminously, upon all kinds of subjects and for all ranks of men: and by some of his works he has continued from that time to this, to please all classes and ages of people in all the countries of Europe. For many years he took an active part in the political controversies of that troubled time, which were so much embittered by the factious excitement arising from the expulsion of the Stuart dynasty, and placing William III. on the throne; and during the long period of his life in which he engaged in political warfare, he consistently and constantly maintained the principles of the revolution. Many of his pamphlets being directed to passing topics have ceased to possess that general and enduring interest which attaches to his other works, but they are full of manly sentiments, expressed in a plain, racy, English style, and well deserve the attentive perusal of all who may wish thoroughly to understand that period of our history which elapsed between the accession of William III. and the death of queen Anne. His *History of the Union* is a standard work, and peculiarly valuable as the production of a man who took an active part in the great national event which it commemorates.

Essentially practical, as we have observed, in his mind, De Foe was ever anxious to give useful instructions to his countrymen, for the regulation of

their conduct in their homes and their pursuits in life, and embodied the results of an experienced and sagacious mind in the *Family Instructor*, the *Religious Courtship*, and the *Complete English Tradesman*. This last work is one which no young man entering into business should be without. It is an invaluable manual, full of the lessons of instructed prudence and good sense. Even his admirable romances, too, are written in the same spirit. They were not composed in his youth, in the heyday of his imagination, merely to gratify an idle curiosity in the reader, but in the evening of his life when his judgment was matured, and his experience at the full. Some of them were written to show the bitter fruits of a life of vice; and others to display in a vivid manner the importance of self-reliance, based on its proper foundation, a sincere and Christian trust in Providence, under all circumstances; with the inestimable value of a practical education, and a thorough acquaintance with the arts of life, and what too many persons are foolishly apt to despise as common things. That these were the paramount objects De Foe had in view is evident not only from a perusal of these valuable works, but from his own strongly asserted statements in his prefaces both to *Moll Flanders* and *Robinson Crusoe*. In the former, he says, "as the whole relation is usefully garbled of all the levity and looseness that was in it, so it is applied with the utmost care to virtuous and religious uses. None can, without being guilty of manifest injustice, cast any reproach upon it, or upon our design in publishing it. The advocates of the stage have in all ages made this the great argument, to persuade people that their plays are useful, and that they ought to be allowed in the most civilized, and in the most religious government; namely, that they are applied to virtuous purposes, and that, by the most lively re-

presentations, they fail not to recommend virtue and generous principles, and to discourage and expose all sorts of vice and corruption of manners; and were it true that they did so, and that they constantly adhered to that rule, as the test of their acting on the theatre, much might be said in their favour.

“Throughout the infinite variety of this book, this fundamental is most strictly adhered to; there is not a wicked action in any part of it, but it is first or last rendered unhappy or unfortunate; there is not a superlative villain brought upon the stage, but he is either brought to an unhappy end, or brought to be a penitent; there is not an ill thing mentioned but it is condemned, even in the relation; nor a virtuous just thing but it carries its praise along with it. What can more exactly answer the rule laid down, to recommend even those representations of things which have so many other just objections lying against them; namely, of example of bad company, obscene language, and the like.” And in the preface to *Robinson Crusoe* he states his object to be “a religious application of events to the uses to which wise men always apply them, viz., to the instruction of others by this example, and to justify and honour the wisdom of Providence in all the variety of our circumstances, let them happen how they will.”

The extreme popularity of this justly celebrated work proves the success with which De Foe's labours were crowned. It is a book essentially English, one of which an Englishman only would have conceived the design, and which probably only an Englishman would have been able to execute. The idea of an inhabitant of a solitary island, “far in the melancholy main,” subsisting in comparative comfort, might be expected from one of that nautical people whose flag has not only ‘braved a

thousand years the battle and the breeze,' but floated in triumph on every sea, and waved in the winds of every clime. From such a people the author might expect readers, and he has had them by thousands of every class and of every age. The interest, however, of the story has not confined the reputation and popularity of Robinson Crusoe to this country, but has made it the universal favourite of Europe. The great characteristics of this remarkable book are the vividness with which the imaginary scenes are depicted, so as to make it impossible for the reader to doubt their reality, and the just importance which is given to the knowledge of what a great man called "doing common things in a common way." For his power of imparting reality to his fictions De Foe indeed stands highly distinguished among authors. Dr. Johnson mistook the *Life and Piracies of Captain Singleton*, for a real history; and lord Chatham fell into a similar mistake about the *Memoirs of a Cavalier* during the civil wars in England. Dr. Mead quoted the *History of the Plague* as an authentic detail by an eyewitness. And this quality marks the different fictions, *Moll Flanders*, &c., which the publishers have collected and reprinted in the present edition. These remarkable tales, it is true, describe the career of loose and immoral characters, but only in a way to disgust and deter. There is never any impropriety in the descriptions of events, however degrading; the nature of De Foe was abhorrent from indecency: but the heroes and heroines, who tell their own stories, instead of dwelling with unction or satisfaction on their past lives, only narrate particular incidents to express their sincere disgust at them, and repentance for the future, and to warn others from a life so fruitful of bitter results. Whilst De Foe was so cruelly and unjustly imprisoned in Newgate for defending the Hanoverian succession!

(strange perversion of party spirit!) he employed his active mind in acquiring information relative to its unhappy and guilty inmates; and deeply convinced that mankind would be benefited by an exposure of the sorrow and distresses that invariably accompany and follow a life of crime, he embodied the results of his experience in fictions which we agree with him in thinking to be as useful as they are vivid. Mr. Alexander Chalmers, in his sketch of De Foe^e, says, "these lives are too gross for improvement"; we cannot agree with this opinion of the learned biographer. We hold, that novels, written like De Foe's, not on the base principle of making a market by pandering to the worst passions of the multitude, but where all indecency of expression or even of suggestion, is carefully avoided, and vice is only described as entailing misery, are instructive and beneficial to the people.

The style of De Foe is plain and homely, but expressive, direct, and manly. It may be described as thoroughly English. It reflected the character of his mind, and bespoke the man of firm resolve, and unshaken integrity.

His principles were those of a sincere dissenter, of the whig school. He joined most heartily in the Revolution of 1688, and continued a steadfast friend to its principles and its hero. To William III. De Foe was devotedly attached; and after the death of that great king, vindicated his memory from the poisonous shafts of malice and slander. He was the champion of civil and religious liberty, which he evidently valued as the most precious of earthly things. Of that cause he continued the unflinching advocate, and may be regarded as the most efficient of that day which the press could boast. Through

^e Biog. Dict. vol. ii. p. 403. art. De Foe.

good report and evil report, under the smiles of sovereigns or incarcerated in Newgate, in prosperity or poverty, stung by the malevolence of faction, or by filial ingratitude, in health or in sickness, in gladness or in sorrow, De Foe held by the same sheet anchor of principle, remained incorruptible in his love of liberty, and died as he had lived throughout a long and eventful career, what he so justly felt himself, a "True-born Englishman," and to use his own admirable expression in Robinson Crusoe, a "broadhearted man." Honoured be his memory!

The first attempt to do justice to the merits of De Foe, and to rescue the main events of his useful and laborious life from oblivion, was made by the late Mr. George Chalmers, of the Board of Trade, whose biography the present publishers now reprint. Since that period, gentlemen of learning and ability have followed his steps. Dr. Towers, in the *Biographia Britannica*, has sketched the life of De Foe, and Mr. Alexander Chalmers, in the *Biographical Dictionary*, has also done justice to his memory. Sir Walter Scott gave the aid of his great name to the same object, by publishing an edition of De Foe. Mr. Walter Wilson, of the Middle Temple, has published lately a long and detailed Life of De Foe, which is by far the most complete yet compiled, and should be consulted by every student desirous of becoming thoroughly acquainted with the events of his chequered career. The present edition of his works will supply a desideratum in English literature, and enable his countrymen to possess, at a small cost, the various productions of his versatile genius, and be instructed by one of the most deservedly popular and really useful authors that has ever adorned the country.

We subjoin the able critiques on De Foe, by the late Charles Lamb, a man exactly qualified to ap-

preciate him, by a writer in the Retrospective Review, and by sir Walter Scott. For the first, the world is indebted to Mr. Wilson^f. "It has happened not seldom that one work of some author has so transcendantly surpassed in execution the rest of his compositions, that the world has agreed to pass a sentence of dismissal upon the latter, and to consign them to total neglect and oblivion. It has done wisely in this, not to suffer the contemplation of excellences of a lower standard to abate or stand in the way of the pleasure it has agreed to receive from the masterpiece.

"Again, it has happened, that from no inferior merit of execution in the rest, but from superior good fortune in the choice of its subject, some single work shall have been suffered to eclipse and cast into shade the deserts of its less fortunate brethren. This has been done with more or less injustice in the case of the popular allegory of Bunyan, in which the beautiful and scriptural image of a pilgrim or wayfarer (we are all such upon earth!) addressing itself intelligibly and feelingly to the bosoms of all, has silenced and made almost to be forgotten, the more awful and scarcely less tender beauties of the Holy War made by Shaddai upon Diabolus, of the same author, a romance less happy in its subject, but surely well worthy of a secondary immortality. But in no instance has this excluding partiality been exerted with more unfairness than against what may be termed the secondary novels or romances of De Foe.

"While all ages and descriptions of people hang delighted over the Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, and shall continue to do so, we trust, while the world lasts, how few, comparatively, will bear to be told

^f Vol. iii. p. 436.

that there exist other fictitious narratives by the same author, four of them at least of no inferior interest, except what results from a less felicitous choice of situation. Roxana, Singleton, Moll Flanders, Colonel Jack—are all genuine offspring of the same father. They bear the veritable impress of De Foe. An unpractised midwife that would not swear to the nose, lip, forehead, and age of every one of them ! They are, in their way, as full of incident, and some of them are every bit as romantic ; only they want the uninhabited island, and the charm that has bewitched the world, of the striking solitary situation.

“ But are there no solitudes out of the cave and the desert ? or cannot the heart in the midst of crowds feel frightfully alone ? Singleton, on the world of waters, prowling about with pirates less merciful than the creatures of any prowling wilderness ; is he not alone, with the faces of men about him, but without a guide that can conduct him through the mist of educational and habitual ignorance ; or a fellow heart that can interpret to him the new-born yearnings and aspirations of unpractised penitence ? or when the boy, Colonel Jack, in the loneliness of the heart, (the worst solitude,) goes to hide his ill-purchased treasure in the hollow tree by night, and miraculously loses, and miraculously finds it again ; whom hath he there to sympathise with him ? or of what sort are his associates ?

“ The narrative manner of De Foe has a naturalness about it, beyond that of any novel or romance writer. His fictions have all the air of true stories. It is impossible to believe while you are reading them, that a real person is not narrating to you everywhere nothing but what really happened to himself. To this, the extreme homeliness of their style mainly contributes. We use the word in its best and

heartiest sense,—that which comes home to the reader. The narrators everywhere are chosen from low life, or have had their origin in it; therefore they tell their own tales, (Mr. Coleridge has anticipated us in this remark,) as persons in their degree are observed to do, with infinite repetition, and an over-acted exactness, lest the hearer should not have minded, or have forgotten some things that had been told before. Hence the emphatic sentences, marked in the good old (but deserted) *Italic type*; and hence, too, the frequent interposition of the reminding old colloquial parenthesis, “I say,” “mind,” and the like, when the story-teller repeats what to a practised reader might appear to have been sufficiently insisted upon before. What pirates, what thieves, and what harlots, are the thief, the harlot, and the pirate of De Foe? We would not hesitate to say, that in no other book of fiction, where the lives of such characters are described, is guilt and delinquency made less seductive, or the suffering made more closely to follow the commission, or the penitence more earnest or bleeding, or the intervening flashes of religious visitation, upon the rude and uninstructed soul, more meltingly or fearfully painted. They, in this, come near to the tenderness of Bunyan; while the lively pictures and incidents in them, as in Hogarth, or in Fielding, tend to diminish that fastidiousness to the concerns and pursuits of common life, which an unrestrained passion for the ideal and the sentimental is in danger of producing.”

The writer in the *Retrospective Review* observes: “We avail ourselves with some satisfaction of an opportunity of introducing to our readers an old and valued acquaintance, as one whom they may have had the misfortune to lose sight of, amidst the perplexities of life and the competition of more ob-

trusive candidates for their notice. For our own part, surrounded as we are by the bustle and cares of middle age, the mere mention of our author's name falls upon us as cool and refreshing as a drop of rain in the hot and parched midday; for it never fails to bring along with it the recollection of the morning of our life, those green and pleasant years, when the solitary inhabitant of the desert island was perpetually mingling with the day-dreams of our imagination.

"After a vain attempt to apply to De Foe those laws of criticism which hold in ordinary cases, we are compelled to regard him as a phenomenon, and to consider his genius as something rare and curious, which it is impossible to assign to any class whatever. Throughout the ample stores of fiction, in which our literature abounds more than that of any other people, there are no works which at all resemble his, either in the design or execution. Without any precursor in the strange and unwonted path he chose, and without a follower, he spun his web of coarse but original materials, which no mortal had ever thought of using before; and when he had done it, seems as though he had snapped the thread, and conveyed it beyond the reach of imitation. To have a numerous train of followers is usually considered as adding to the reputation of the writer; we deem it a circumstance of peculiar honour to De Foe that he had none; for, in general, they are the faults of a great author, the parts where he exaggerates truth, or deviates from propriety, that become the prey of the imitator. Whenever he has stolen a 'grace beyond the reach of art,' whenever the vigour and freshness of nature are apparent, there he is inaccessible to imitation. The fugitive charms which are thus imparted, the volatile and subtle spirit which gives life and animation to the work, baffle and elude the grasp of mere imitative genius. In the fictions of

De Foe we meet with nothing that is artificial, or that does not breathe the breath of life. The ingenuity which could counterfeit works of a more elaborate kind, and much more highly as well as curiously wrought, could make nothing of a simplicity so naked, and a manner so perfectly natural. The most consummate art was unable to follow where no vestiges of art were to be seen, for either none has been employed, or its traces are concealed as carefully as the Indian hides his footsteps from the observation of his pursuers ; since to the critical eye, nothing is visible but the easy unconstraint of nature, and the fearlessness of truth. Besides, it must be allowed, that the temptation to imitate was as small as the difficulties were many and great ; for whilst he transcribed from the volume of life with a fidelity and closeness that have never been equalled, with a singularly mortified taste, he chose the plainest and least inviting pages of the whole book. Those who would imitate De Foe must copy from nature herself ; and instead of dressing her out to advantage, content themselves with delineating some of her simplest and homeliest features. His language is always that of the plain and unlettered person he professes himself ; homely in phraseology, in expression rude and inartificial ; yet like that of one who has received a distinct impression of objects which he has seen, it is often forcible, happy, and strongly descriptive. Generally speaking, in other fictitious narratives, a tendency to moralise out of reason or in a vein too elevated for the character assumed, or a continued effort to be uniformly wise, or elaborately witty, is almost sure to unmask the impostor, and expose the dreaming pedant at his desk ; or, if these characteristic marks be wanting, either the narrative is inconsistent with itself, or it contradicts some known and established fact, or there is some

anachronism, or other overt act against truth is committed, which critical sagacity seldom fails to detect and punish. But our author is never caught tripping in this way; he moralises to be sure, as much or more than most writers, but then his reflections are always in the right vein; he never steps from behind the curtain to figure away himself upon the stage. Either a vigilance that was perpetually on the watch preserved him from error, or he went right by mere instinct; or he so identified himself with his imaginary hero that he became in fancy the very individual he was creating, and was therefore necessarily always in character. But whatever vigilance he used, he has always the art to appear perfectly unconcerned; there is none of the constraint that usually accompanies a painful effort to support imposture; his hero is not stiff and awkward like a puppet, which has no voluntary motion, but moves freely and carelessly along the stage; talks to us in an honest, open, confidential sort of way; lays his inmost thoughts and feelings open before us, as before a confessor, without caution and subterfuge; and by never asking our belief, never seeming conscious of a possibility of its being denied, fairly compels us to grant it.

The grand secret of his art, however, if art it can be called, and were not rather an instinct, consists doubtless in the astonishing minuteness of the details, and the circumstantial particularity with which everything is laid before us. It is by this, perhaps more than anything else, that fictitious narratives are distinguishable from the genuine memoirs of those who have been eyewitnesses of what they relate. The parts in the one case may be as probable as in the other, the descriptions as vivid and striking, the style as natural and unconstrained; still there is an indefinable something which seems to be wanting to

the former, though we may not have remarked its presence in the latter. Some unimportant particular, some minute circumstances, which none but he who had seen it with his own eyes would have thought of remarking, will always serve, like the scarcely discernible lines on a genuine note, to distinguish between the true and the counterfeit. The eye of the imagination, however strong and piercing, cannot always pervade the whole scene, and see everything distinctly; the more prominent features, indeed, it may develope with the clearness and accuracy of an almost unclouded vision, but all besides is either obscured with mist, or lost in impenetrable shade; and he who paints from the ideal must consequently either leave these parts unfinished, or spread his colours at random. It is the singular merit of De Foe to have overcome this difficulty, and to have communicated to his fictitious narratives every characteristic mark by which we distinguish between real and pretended adventures. The whole scene lay expanded before him in the fulness of light and life, and, down to the minutest particular, everything is delineated with truth and accuracy. It is not necessary that we should have the light fall advantageously, or wink with our eyes, in order to make the delusion complete, by hiding the defects and softening down the harsh lines of the representation; the most penetrating gaze, aided by the strongest light, cannot detect the imposition, or distinguish between the shade and the substance. Writers of fiction may, in general, be said rather to shadow forth than fully to delineate their visions, either because they flit away too early, or are never seen with sufficient distinctness; like the first discoverers of countries, they trace out a few promontories on their chart, and give a faint outline of something indistinctly seen. In the solitude of his closet, De Foe

could travel round the world in idea, seeing everything with the distinctness of natural vision, and noting everything with the minuteness of the most accurate observer. His chart presents us not merely with the bold headland, shooting forth into the deep, or the clearly defined mountain that rises into middle air behind; we have the whole coast fully and fairly traced out, with the soundings of every bay, the direction of every current, and the quarter of every wind that blows."

Sir Walter Scott says, "The fertility of De Foe was astonishing. He wrote on all occasions and on all subjects, and seemingly had little time for preparation on the subject in hand, but treated it from the stores which his memory retained of early reading, and such hints as he caught up in society, not one of which seems to have been lost upon him. His language is genuine English, often simple, even unto vulgarity, but always so distinctly impressive, that its very vulgarity has an efficacy in giving an air of truth or probability to the facts or sentiments it conveys. Exclusive of politics, De Foe's studies led chiefly to those popular narratives which are the amusement of children and the lower classes; those accounts of travellers who have visited remote countries; of voyagers who have made discoveries of new lands and strange nations; of pirates and buccaneers who have acquired great wealth by their desperate adventures on the ocean. There is reason to believe, from a passage in his *Review*, that he was acquainted with Dampier, a mariner, whose scientific skill in his profession, and power of literary composition were at that time rarely found in that profession, especially among those rough sons of the ocean who acknowledged no peace beyond the line, and had as natural an enmity to a South American Spaniard as a greyhound to

a hare, and who, though distinguished by the somewhat milder term of buccaneer, were little better than absolute pirates. The English government, it is well known, were not, however, very active in destroying this class of adventurers, while they confined their depredations to the Dutch and Spaniards, and indeed seldom disturbed them if they returned from the roving life and sat down to enjoy their ill-gotten gains. The courage of these men, the wonderful risks they incurred, their hairbreadth escapes, the romantic countries through which they travelled, seemed to have had infinite charms for De Foe. All his works on this topic are entertaining in the highest degree, and remarkable for the accuracy with which he personates the character of a buccaneering adventurer. De Foe's general acquaintance with nautical affairs has not been doubted, as he is said never to misapply the various sea phrases, or display an ignorance unbecoming the character under which he wrote. He appears also to have been familiar with foreign countries, their produce, their manners, and government, and whatever rendered it easy or difficult to enter into trade with them. We may therefore conclude that Purchas's Pilgrims, Hakluyt's Voyages, and the other ancient authorities, had been curiously examined by him, as well as those of his friend Dampier, of Wafer, and others, who had been in the South Seas, whether as privateers, or, as it was then called, 'upon the account.'

"Shylock observes, that there are land thieves and water thieves; and as De Foe was familiar with the latter, so he was not without some knowledge of the practices and devices of the former. We are afraid we must impute to his long imprisonment the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the secrets of thieves and mendicants, their acts of plunder,

concealment, and escape. But whatever way he acquired his knowledge of low life, De Foe certainly possessed it in the most extensive sense, and applied it in the composition of several works of fiction in the style termed by the Spaniards *Gusto Picaresco*, of which no man was ever a greater master. This class of fictitious narration may be termed the Romance of Roguery, the subjects being the adventures of thieves, rogues, vagabonds, swindlers, viragoes, and courtezans. The strange and black-guard scenes which De Foe describes, are fit to be compared to the Gipsy Boys of Murillo, which are so justly admired as being, in truth of conception and spirit of execution, the very *chef-d'œuvre* of art, however low and loathsome the originals from which they were taken.

“A third species of composition, to which the author’s active and vigorous genius was peculiarly adapted, was the account of great national convulsions, whether by war, or by the pestilence, or the tempest. These are tales which are sure when even moderately well told, to arrest the attention, and which, narrated with that impression of reality which De Foe knew so well how to convey, make the hair bristle and the skin creep. In this manner he has written the *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, which have been often read and quoted as the real production of a real personage. Born himself almost immediately after the Restoration, De Foe must have known many of those who had been engaged in the civil turmoils of 1642–6, to which the period of these memoirs refers. He must have lived among them at the age when boys, such as we conceive De Foe must necessarily have been, cling to the knees of those who can tell them of the darings, the dangers of their youth, at a period when their own passions and views of pressing forward

in life have not begun to operate upon their minds, and while they are still pleased to listen to the adventures which others have encountered on that stage which they themselves have not yet entered upon. The *Memoirs of a Cavalier* have certainly been enriched by some such anecdotes as were likely to fire De Foe's active and powerful imagination, and hint to him in what colours the subject ought to be treated. The contrast, for instance, between the soldiers of the celebrated Tilly and those of the illustrious Gustavus Adolphus, almost seems too minutely drawn to have been executed from anything short of oracular testimony. But De Foe's genius has shown, in this and other instances, how completely he could assume the character he describes.

"Another species of composition, for which this multifarious author showed a strong predilection, was that upon, theurgy, magic, ghost-seeing, witchcraft, and the occult sciences. De Foe dwells on such subjects with so much unction as to leave little doubt that he was to a certain point a believer in something resembling an immediate communication between the inhabitants of this world and of that which we shall in future inhabit. He is particularly strong on the subject of secret forebodings, mysterious impressions, bodements of good or evil, which arise in our own mind, but which yet seem impressed there by some external agent, and not to arise from the course of our natural reflections. *

* * The general charm attached to the romances of De Foe is chiefly to be ascribed to the unequalled dexterity with which he has given an appearance of REALITY to the incidents which he narrates. Even De Foe's deficiencies in style, his homeliness of language, his rusticity of thought, expressive of what is called the *Crassa Minerva*, seem to claim credit

for him as one who speaks the truth, the rather that we suppose he wants the skill to conceal or disguise it. It is greatly to be doubted whether De Foe could have changed his colloquial, circuitous, and periphrastic style for any other, more coarse or more elegant. We have little doubt it was connected with his nature, and the particular turn of his thoughts and ordinary expressions, and that he did not succeed so much by writing in an assumed manner, as by giving full scope to his own. The air of writing with all the plausibility of truth must, in almost every case, have its own peculiar value; as we admire the paintings of some Flemish artists, where though the subjects drawn are mean and disagreeable, and such as in nature we would not wish to study or look close upon, yet the skill with which they are represented by the painter gives an interest to the imitation upon canvass which the original entirely wants. But, on the other hand, when the power of exact and circumstantial delineation is applied to objects which we are anxiously desirous to see in their proper shape and colours, we have a double source of pleasure, both in the art of the painter, and in the interest which we take in the subject represented. Thus the style of probability with which De Foe invested his narrative was perhaps ill-bestowed, or rather wasted, upon some of the works which he thought proper to produce; but, on the other hand, the same talent throws an air of truth about the delightful history of Robinson Crusoe, which we never could have believed it possible to have united with so extraordinary a situation as is assigned to the hero. All the usual scaffolding and machinery employed in composing fictitious history are carefully discarded. The early incidents of the tale, which in ordinary works of invention

are usually thrown out as pegs to hang the conclusion upon, are in this work only touched, and suffered to drop out of sight. Robinson, for example, never hears anything more of his elder brother, who enters Lockhart's dragoons in the beginning of the work, and who, in any common romance, would certainly have appeared before the conclusion. We lose sight at once and for ever of the interesting Xury; and the whole earlier adventures of our voyager vanish, not to be recalled to our recollection by the subsequent course of the story. His father, the good old merchant of Hull; all the other persons who have been originally active in the drama, vanish from the scene, and appear not again. This is not the case in the ordinary romance, where the author, however luxuriant his invention, does not willingly quit possession of the creatures of his imagination till they have rendered him some services upon the scene; whereas in common life it rarely happens that our early acquaintances exercise much influence upon the fortunes of our future life."

THE popularity of De Foe as a writer, added to the circumstance that most of his writings appeared anonymously, have been the occasion of many works being attributed to him with which he had no concern; some in fact that are known as the works of other writers, and some that are altogether different, not only from his style of writing, but opposed to the principles which he advocated; and others which by no possibility he could have written, inasmuch as they relate to events and persons subsequent to his decease. In the following list care

has been taken, so far as possible, to include such works only as are undoubtedly from his pen. It is proper to mention, however, that it does not include the whole of what might by a minute and careful investigation be satisfactorily identified to him, and that such examination would probably displace some of those here inserted, and add others not herein mentioned. In his Appeal to Honour and Justice, he alludes to some of his early works, without giving the exact titles by which they can be distinguished. The present list commences with the first work positively known to be his production.

A LIST
OF
DE FOE'S WORKS,

ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY.

1. AN Essay upon Projects. London: printed by R. R., for Thomas Cockeril, at the corner of Warwick-lane, near Paternoster-row. 1697. 8vo. pp. 350.
2. An Enquiry into the occasional Conformity of Dissenters in Cases of Preferment: with a Preface to the Lord Mayor, occasioned by his carrying the Sword to a Conventicle. London: printed An. Dom. 1697. 4to. pp. 28.
3. Some Reflections on a Pamphlet lately published, entituled 'An Argument, showing that a Standing Army is inconsistent with a free Government, and absolutely destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy. London: published for E. Whitlock, near Stationers'-hall. 1697. 4to. pp. 28.
4. An Argument, showing that a Standing Army, with Consent of Parliament, is not inconsistent with a free Government, and absolutely destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy. 2. Chronic. ix. 25. London:

printed for E. Whitlock, near Stationers'-hall.
1698. 4to. pp. 26.

5. The Character of Dr. Annesley, by way of Elegy. 1697.
6. A new Discovery of an old Intrigue, a Satyr : levelled at Treachery and Ambition. Calculated to the Nativity of the Rapparee Plot, and the Modesty of the Jacobite Clergy : designed by way of conviction to the CXVII Petitioners, and for the Benefit of those that study the City Mathematics. London. 1697.
7. The Poor Man's Plea, in relation to all the Proclamations, Declarations, Acts of Parliament, &c., which have been, or shall be made, or published, for a Reformation of Manners, and suppressing Immorality in the Nation. London : printed in the year 1698. 4to. pp. 31.
8. The Pacificator : a Poem : London : printed and are to be sold by J. Nutt, near Stationers'-hall. 1700. Folio.
9. The two Great Questions considered :—1. What the French King will do with respect to the Spanish Monarchy? 2. What Measures the English ought to take? London : printed by R. T. for R. Baldwin, at the Bedford Arms, in Warwick-lane. 1700. 4to. pp. 28.
10. The two Great Questions further considered : with some Reply to the Remarks. *Non licet hominem muliebriter rixare.* London. 1700. 4to.
11. The Danger of the Protestant Religion from the present prospect of a Religious War in Europe. London. 1700. 4to.
12. Six Distinguishing Characters of a Parliament Man. London. 1701. 4to.

13. The Freeholders' Plea against Stock-jobbing Elections of Parliament Men. London : printed in the year 1701. 4to. pp. 27.
14. The Villany of Stock-jobbers detected, and the Causes of the late Run upon the Bank and Bankers discovered and considered. London : printed in the year 1701. 4to. pp. 26.
15. The True-Born Englishman : a Satyr. ' Statuimus pacem, et securitatem, et concordiam, judicium et justiciam, inter Anglos et Normandos, Francos, et Britones Walliæ et Cornubiæ, Pictos et Scotos Albaniam, similiter inter Francos et Insulares Provincias et Patrias quæ pertinent ad coronam nostram et inter omnes nobis subjectos, firmiter et inviolabiliter observari.' Charta Regis Wilhelmi Conquistoris de pace publicâ. Cap. 1. London. 1701. 4to. pp. 60.
16. The Succession to the Crown of England considered. London : printed in the year 1701. 4to. pp. 38.
17. A Memorial from the Gentlemen Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Counties of ———, in behalf of themselves and many Thousands of the good People of England. London. 1701.
18. History of the Kentish Petition. London. 1701. 4to.
19. The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England examined and asserted. With a double Dedication to the King, and to the Parliament. London. 1701. Folio.

This tract was reprinted in 1769, by R. Baldwin in Paternoster-row, with a Dedication "To the Lord Mayor (Beckford), the Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London ;" and again, in 1790, by Mr. J. Walker, in his Selections from the Writings of De Foe.

20. The Present State of Jacobitism considered, in Two Queries :—1. What Measures the French King will take with respect to the Person and Title of the P. P. of Wales? 2. What the Jacobites in England ought to do on the same Account? London. 1701. 4to. pp. 22.
21. Reasons against a War with France: or, an Argument, showing that the French King's owning the Prince of Wales as King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, is no sufficient Ground of a War. London: printed in the year 1701. 4to. pp. 30.
22. A Letter to Mr. How, by way of Reply to his Considerations of the Preface to an Enquiry into the occasional Conformity of Dissenters. London. 1701. 4to.
23. Legion's New Paper; being a second Memorial to the Gentlemen of a late House of Commons. With Legion's humble Address to his Majesty. London: printed and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1702. 4to. pp. 20.
24. The Mock Mourners: a Satyr, by way of Elegy on King William. By the Author of 'The True-Born Englishman.' London: printed in the year 1702. 4to.

Reprinted in 'Poems on Affairs of State.'

25. The Spanish Descent; a Poem. London. 1702. 4to.
26. A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty; or, Whiggish Loyalty and Church Loyalty compared. Printed in the year 1702. 4to.
27. An Enquiry into occasional Conformity, showing that the Dissenters are no ways concerned in it. London. 1702. 4to.

28. Reformation of Manners ; a Satyr, 'Væ vobis hypocritæ.' Printed in the year 1702. 4to. pp. 64.
29. The Shortest Way with the Dissenters ; or, Proposals for the Establishment of the Church. London : printed in the year 1702. 4to. pp. 29.
30. A Brief Explanation of a late Pamphlet, entitled, 'The Shortest Way with the Dissenters.' London : printed in the year 1703. 4to.
31. A Hymn to the Pillory. London : printed in the year 1703. 4to. pp. 24.
32. More Reformation, a Satyr upon Himself. By the Author of 'The True-Born Englishman.' London : printed in the year 1703. 4to. pp. 52.
33. The Shortest Way to Peace and Union. By the Author of 'The Shortest Way with the Dissenters.' London : printed in the year 1703. 4to. pp. 26.
34. A True Collection of the Writings of the Author of 'The True-Born Englishman.' Corrected by Himself. London : printed and are to be sold by most Booksellers in London and Westminster. 1703. 8vo. pp. 465.

The following pieces are contained in it :—1. The True-Born Englishman. 2. The Mock Mourners. 3. Reformation of Manners. 4. Character of Dr. Annesley. 5. The Spanish Descent. 6. Original Power of the People of England. 7. The Freeholders' Plea against Stock-jobbing Elections of Parliament Men. 8. Reasons against a War with France. 9. An Argument, showing that a Standing Army, with Consent of Parliament, is not inconsistent with a Free Government, &c. 10. The Danger of the Protestant Religion from the present Prospect of a Religious War in Europe. 11. The Villany of Stock-jobbers detected. 12. Six Distinguishing Characters of a Parliament Man. 13. Poor Man's Plea. 14. Enquiry into occasional Conformity ; with a Preface to Mr. How. 15. Letter to Mr. How. 16. Two Great Questions considered.

17. Two Great Questions further considered. 18. Enquiry into Occasional Conformity, showing that the Dissenters are no ways concerned in it. 19. A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty. 20. The Shortest Way with the Dissenters. 21. A brief Explanation of a late Pamphlet, entitled, 'The Shortest Way with the Dissenters.' 22. The Shortest Way to Peace and Union. A second edition of this volume, with some additions, was printed in 1705.

35. King William's Affection to the Church of England examined. London: printed in the year 1703. 4to. pp. 26.
36. The Sincerity of the Dissenters vindicated from the Scandal of occasional Conformity; with some Considerations on a late Book, entitled 'Moderation a Virtue.' London: printed in the year 1703. 4to. pp. 27.
37. A Challenge of Peace, addressed to the whole nation: with an Inquiry into the Ways and Means of bringing it to pass. London: printed in the year 1703. pp. 24.
38. Peace without Union. By way of reply to sir H. M——'s Peace at Home. London: printed in the year 1703. 4to.
39. Original Right; or the Reasonableness of Appeals to the People. Being an Answer to the first chapter in Dr. Davenant's Essays, entitled, 'Peace at Home and War Abroad'. Printed and sold by R. Baldwin, near the Oxford Arms in Warwick-lane. London: 1704. 4to. pp. 30.
40. Dissenter's Answer to the High Church Challenge. London: printed in the year 1704. 4to. pp. 55.
41. The Christianity of the High Church considered. Dedicated to a Noble Peer. London: printed in the year 1704. 4to. pp. 20.
42. Royal Religion; being some Inquiry after the Piety of Princes, with remarks on a book, en-

tituled, A Form of Prayers used by king William. London: printed in the year 1704. 4to. pp. 27.

43. Essay upon the Regulation of the Press. London: 1704.
44. The Liberty of Episcopal Dissenters in Scotland truly stated. London: printed in the year 1704.
45. The Parallel, or Persecution of Protestants the Shortest Way to prevent the Growth of Popery in Ireland. London: 1704.
46. A serious Inquiry into this grand Question, whether a Law to prevent the occasional Conformity of Dissenters would not be inconsistent with the Act of Toleration, and a Breach of the Queen's Promise? London: 1704. 4to.
47. More Short Ways with the Dissenters. London: 1704. 4to. pp. 24.
48. The Dissenters Misrepresented and Represented. London: 1704. 4to.
49. The Protestant Jesuit Unmasked; in answer to the Two Parts of Cassandra; wherein the author and his libels are laid open, with the true reason why he would have the Dissenters humbled. London: 1704.
50. A new Test of the Church of England's Honesty. London: 1704. 4to. pp. 24.
51. The Storm; or a Collection of the most remarkable Casualties and Disasters which happened in the late dreadful Tempest, both by Sea and Land. *The Lord hath his way in the whirlwind and in the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet.* Nehemiah i. 3. London: printed for S. Sawbridge, in Little Britian, and sold by J. Nutt, near Stationers'-hall. 1704. 8vo. pp. 272.

Later editions are entituled: A Collection of the most re-

markable Casualties and Disasters which happened in the late dreadful Tempest, both by Sea and Land, on Friday, November 26th, 1703. To which are added several very surprising deliverances; the natural causes and origin of winds; of the opinion of the ancients that this island was more subject to storms than any other part of the world. With several other curious observations upon the storm. The whole divided into chapters, under proper heads. The Second Edition. London: printed for Geo. Sawbridge, at the Three Golden Fleur-de-Lis, in Little Britain, and J. Nutt, in the Savoy. Price, bound, 3s. 6d. The matter in both editions is precisely the same.

52. Elegy on the author of The True-Born Englishman. With an essay on the late Storm. By the author of the Hymn to the Pillory. London: 1704. 4to. pp. 56.
53. A Hymn to Victory. London: printed for J. Nutt, near Stationers'-hall, 1704. 4to. pp. 52.
54. An Inquiry into the Case of Mr. Asgill's General Translation; showing that it is not a nearer Way to Heaven than the Grave. By the Author of The-True Born Englishman. *And for this cause God shall send them strong delusions.* 2 Thess. ii. 11. London: printed and sold by J. Nutt, near Stationers'-hall. 1704. 8vo. pp. 48.
55. Giving Alms no Charity, and Employing the Poor a Grievance to the Nation. Being an Essay upon this great Question, whether Work-houses, Corporations, and Houses of Correction for Employing the Poor, as now practised in England, or Parish-stocks, as proposed in a late pamphlet, entitled A Bill for the Better Relief, Employment, and Settlement of the Poor, &c., are not mischievous to the Nation; tending to the Destruction of our Trade, and to increase the Number and Misery of the Poor. Addressed to the Parliament of England. London: printed and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1704. 8vo. pp. 28.

56. A Review of the Affairs of France, and of all Europe, as influenced by that nation; being Historical Observations on the Public Transactions of the World, purged from the Errors and Partiality of News-writers and petty Statesmen of all sides. With an entertaining Part in every Sheet, being Advice from the Scandal Club to the curious Inquirers; in Answer to Letters sent them for that purpose. London: printed in the year 1705. 4to. pp. 456.
57. The Double Welcome to the Duke of Marlborough. By the Author of The True-Born Englishman. London: printed for Benjamin Bragge, in Ave Maria lane, Ludgate-street. 1705. 4to.
58. Party Tyranny; or, an Occasional Bill in Miniature; as now practised in Carolina. Humbly offered to the Consideration of both Houses of Parliament. London: printed in the year 1705. 4to. pp. 30.
59. Advice to all Parties. By the Author of The True-Born Englishman. London: printed and are to be sold by Benj. Bragge, at the Blue Ball, in Ave Maria lane. 1705. Price 6d. 4to. pp. 24.
60. Writings of the Author of The True-Born Englishman (a second Volume of); some whereof never before published. Corrected and enlarged by the Author. 1705. The following are the pieces in this Volume:— 1. A New Discovery of an old Intrigue. 2. More Reformation. 3. An Elegy on the Author of The True-Born Englishman. 4. The Storm, an Essay. 5. A Hymn to the Pillory. 6. A Hymn to Victory. 7. The Pacificator. 8. The Double Welcome to the Duke of Marlborough. 9. The Dissenter's Answer to the

High Church Challenge. 10. A Challenge of Peace to the whole Nation. 11. Peace without Union. 12. More Short Ways. 13. A new Test of the Church of England's Honesty. 14. A Serious Inquiry. 15. The Dissenter Misrepresented, and Represented. 16. The Parallel. 17. Giving Alms no Charity. 18. Royal Religion.

A third edition, or perhaps the remainder of the impressions of the first, was published in 1710, with the addition of a key to many of the names. They were sold by John Morphew, near Stationers'-hall, price 12s.

61. The Consolidator; or, Memoirs of Sundry Transactions from the World in the Moon. Translated from the Lunar language, by the Author of The True-Born Englishman. London: printed and are to be sold by Benjamin Bragge, at the Blue Ball, in Ave Maria lane. 1705. 8vo. pp. 360.
62. The Experiment; or, the Shortest Way with the Dissenters Exemplified. Being the Case of Mr. Abraham Gill, a Dissenting Minister of the Isle of Ely; and a full account of his being sent for a soldier, by Mr. Fern (an ecclesiastical Justice of the Peace) and other Conspirators. To the eternal Honour of the Temper and Moderation of High Church Principles. Humbly dedicated to the Queen. London: printed and sold by B. Bragge, at the Blue Ball, in Ave Maria lane. 1705. 4to. pp. 58.

The remaining copies of this tract were sent forth in 1707, with the following new title: The Modesty and Sincerity of those worthy Gentlemen, commonly called High Churchmen, Exemplified in a Modern Instance. Most humbly dedicated to her Majesty, and her High Court of Parliament. London: printed and sold by B. Bragge, in Paternoster-row. 1707.

63. The Dyet of Poland; a Satyr. Printed at Dantzick in the year 1705. 4to. pp. 60.

64. High Church Legion; or, the Memorial Examined; being a new Test of Moderation, as it is recommended to all that love the Church of England and the Constitution. London: printed in the year 1705. 4to. pp. 21.
65. A Declaration without Doors. By the Author of The True-Born Englishman. Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1705. 4to.
66. An Answer to Lord Haversham's Speech. London. 1705. 4to.
67. A Reply to a Pamphlet called The Lord Haversham's Vindication of his Speech, &c. By the Author of the Review. London: printed in the year 1706. 4to. pp. 32.
68. A True Relation of the Apparition of one Mrs. Veal, the next day after her death, to one Mrs. Bargrave at Canterbury, the 8th of September, 1705. Which Apparition recommends the Perusal of Drelincourt's Book of Consolations against the Fear of Death. London. 1705. 4to.
69. A Review of the Affairs of France; with Observations on Transactions at Home. Vol. II. London: printed in the year 1705. 4to. pp. 558.
70. Hymn to Peace; occasioned by the Two Houses joining in one Address to the Queen. By the Author of The True-Born Englishman. London: printed for John Nutt, near Stationers'-hall. 1706. 4to. pp. 60.
71. Remarks on the Bill to prevent Frauds committed by Brankrupts; with Observations on the Effect it may have upon Trade. London: printed in the year 1706. 4to. pp. 29.
72. A Preface to a New Edition of Delaune's Plea for the Nonconformists. London. 1706.
73. A Sermon preached by Mr. Daniel De Foe, on

- the Fitting-up of Dr. Burgess's late Meeting-house. Taken from his Review of Thursday, 20th of June, 1706. 4to.
74. *Jure Divino*; a Satyr, in 12 Books. By the Author of *The True-Born Englishman*. 'O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis numina.' London: printed in the year 1706. Folio. pp. 346. Preface, xxviii.
75. *The Advantages of the Act of Security*, compared with those of the intended Union; founded on the Revolution Principles. By D. De Foe. London. 1706. 4to.
76. *An Essay at Removing National Prejudices against a Union with Scotland*. To be continued during the Treaty here. London and Edinburgh: printed in the year 1706. 4to. pp. 30.
77. _____ Part II.
78. _____ III.
79. _____ IV.; with some Reply to Mr. H—dges, and some Authors who have printed their Objections against a Union with England. 4to. 1706.
80. _____ Part V. 1706.
81. _____ VI. 1707.
82. *Caledonia*; a Poem in Honour of Scotland and the Scots Nation. In Three Parts. Edinburgh: printed by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty. An. Dom. 1706. Folio. pp. 60.
- An 8vo. edition of this work was printed in London in the following year, and another in 1748.
83. *The Dissenters in England Vindicated from some Reflections in a late Pamphlet, called, 'Lawful Prejudices,' &c.* London. 1707.
84. *The Dissenters Vindicated; or a Short View*

of the Present State of the Protestant Religion in Britain, as it is now professed in the Episcopal Church of England, the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, and the Dissenters in both. In answer to some Reflections in Mr. Webster's Two Books published in Scotland. London: printed in the year 1707. 8vo. pp. 48.

85. A Voice from the South; or, an Address from some Protestant Dissenters in England to the Kirk of Scotland. 1707. 4to.
86. Two Great Questions considered with regard to the Union. 1707.
87. The Quaker's Sermon on the Union. Being the only Sermon preached by that sort of People on that Subject. London. 1707.
88. A Review of the State of the English Nation, Vol. III. London: printed in the year 1706. 4to. pp. 688.
89. The Union Proverb.

If Skiddaw has a cap,
Scruffel wots full well of that.

Setting forth—1. The Necessity of Uniting. 2. The good Consequences of Uniting. 3. The Happy Union of England and Scotland, in case of a Foreign Invasion. 'Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cantum.' 4to. 1708.

90. A Review of the State of the British Nation. Vol. IV. London: printed in the year 1708. 4to. pp. 700.
91. The Scots Narrative examined; or, the Case of the Episcopal Ministers in Scotland stated, and the late treatment of them in the City of Edinburgh inquired into. With a brief Examination into the Reasonableness of the grievous Complaint of Persecution in Scotland, and a Defence of the Magistrates of Edinburgh

in their Proceedings there. Being some Remarks on a late Pamphlet, entituled 'A Narrative of the late Treatment of the Episcopal Ministers within the City of Edinburgh,' &c. London: printed in the year 1709. 4to. pp. 41., Postscript x.

92. The History of the Union of Great Britain. Edinburgh: printed by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty. An. Dom. 1709. Folio. pp. 685. Preface xxxii.

Reprinted in 1712, and again in 1786.

93. An Answer to a Paper concerning Mr. De Foe, against the History of the Union. Edinburgh. 1709. 4to.

A single sheet.

94. A Reproof to Mr. Clark, and a brief Vindication of Mr. De Foe. Edinburgh. 1709.

A single sheet.

95. A Review of the State of the British Nation. Vol. V. London: printed in the year 1709. 4to. pp. 632.

96. A Letter from Captain Tom to the Mob now raised by Dr. Sacheverell. London: J. Baker. 1710.

97. Instructions from Rome, in favour of the Pretender. Inscribed to the most elevated Don Sacheverellio, and his brother Don Higginisco; and which all Perkinites, Nonjurors, High-fliers, Popish Desirers, Wooden-shoe Admirers, and absolute Non-resistance Drivers, are obliged to pursue and maintain, under pain of his Unholiness's Damnation, in order to carry on their intended Subversion of a Government fixed upon Revolution Principles. London:

J. Baker. Registered in the Stationers'-hall Book. 1710. 8vo.

98. A Review of the British Nation. Vol. VI. London: printed in the year 1710. 4to. pp. 600.
99. An Essay upon Public Credit. Being an Inquiry how the Public Credit came to depend upon the Change of the Ministry, or the Dissolutions of Parliaments; and whether it does so, or no? With an Argument proving that the Public Credit may be upheld and maintained in this Nation, and perhaps brought to a greater height than it ever yet arrived at, though all the changes or dissolutions already made, pretended to, and now discoursed of, should come to pass in the world. London. 1710. 8vo.
100. An Essay upon Loans; or an Argument, proving that substantial Funds, settled by Parliament, with the Encouragement of Interests, and the Advances of prompt Payment usually allowed, will bring in Loans of Money to the Exchequer, in spite of all the Conspiracies of Parties to the contrary; while a just, honourable, and punctual Performance on the part of the Government, supports the Credit of the Nation. By the Author of the 'Essay on Credit.' London. 1710. 8vo. pp. 27.
101. A New Test of the Sense of the Nation. Being a modest Comparison between the Addresses to the late King James and those to her present Majesty, in order to observe how far the Sense of the Nation may be judged of by either of them. London: printed in the year 1710. 8vo. pp. 91.
102. A Word against a New Election; that the

People of England may see the happy Difference between English Liberty and French Slavery, and may consider well before they make the Exchange. Printed in the year 1710. 8vo. pp. 23.

103. A Review of the State of the British Nation. Vol. VII. London: printed in the year 1711. 4to. pp. 620.
104. An Essay on the South Sea Trade; with an Inquiry into the Grounds and Reasons of the present Dislike and Complaints against the Settlement of a South Sea Company. By the Author of the 'Review.' London. 1710. 8vo.
105. Eleven Opinions about Mr. H——y; with Observations. London: printed for J. Baker. 1711. 8vo. pp. 89.
106. An Essay at a Plain Exposition of that difficult phrase: 'A Good Peace.' Printed for J. Baker. 1711. 8vo. pp. 52.
107. The Felonious Treaty; or, an Inquiry into the Reasons which moved his late Majesty king William, of glorious Memory, to enter into a Treaty at two several times with the King of France for the Partition of the Spanish Monarchy. With an Essay proving that it was always the Sense, both of king William and of all the Confederates, and even of the Grand Alliance itself, that the Spanish Monarchy should never be united in the Person of the Emperor. By the Author of the 'Review.' London: printed and sold by J. Baker. 1711. Price 6d. 8vo. pp. 48.
108. An Essay on the History of Parties and Persecution in Britain: beginning with a brief Account of the Test Act, and an Historical Inquiry into the Reasons, the Original, and

the Consequences of the occasional Conformity of Dissenters ; with some Remarks on the several Attempts already made and now making for an Occasional Bill ; inquiring how far the same may be esteemed a Preservation to the Church, or an Injury to the Dissenters. London : printed for J. Baker. 1711. 8vo. pp. 48.

109. The Conduct of Parties in England, more especially of those Whigs who now appear against the New Ministry and a Treaty of Peace. Printed in the year 1712. 8vo. pp. 62.
110. The present State of Parties in Great Britain, particularly an Inquiry into the State of the Dissenters in England, and the Presbyterians in Scotland ; their Religious and Political Interest considered, as it respects their Circumstances before and since the late Acts against occasional Conformity in England ; and for Toleration of Common Prayer in Scotland. 1712. London : printed and sold by J. Baker, in Paternoster-row. Price 5s. 8vo. pp. 352.
111. A Review of the State of the British Nation. Vol. VIII. London : printed in the year 1712. 4to. pp. 848.
112. A Seasonable Caution and Warning against the Insinuations of Papists and Jacobites in favour of the Pretender. London : 1712. 8vo.
113. An Answer to the Question that Nobody thinks of, viz., But what if the Queen should die ? London : printed for J. Baker. 1713. 8vo. pp. 44.
114. Reasons against the Succession of the House of Hanover, with an Inquiry how far the Abdication of King James, supposing it to

be legal, ought to affect the Person of the Pretender. 'Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur.' London: printed for J. Baker. 1713. 8vo. pp. 45.

115. And what if the Pretender should come? or, some Considerations of the Advantages and real Consequences of the Pretender's possessing the Crown of Great Britain. London: printed for J. Baker. 1713. 8vo.
116. A Review of the State of the British Nation. Vol. IX. London: printed in the year 1713.
117. An Essay on the Treaty of Commerce with France; with necessary Expositions. Prov. xviii. 12. London: printed for J. Baker. 1713. 8vo. pp. 44.
118. A General History of Trade; and especially considered as it respects the British Commerce, as well at Home as to all Parts of the World; with Essays upon the Improvement of our Trade in particular. To be continued monthly. 1st August, 1713. 8vo. Price 6d. J. Baker.
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120. Whigs turned Tories; and Hanoverian Tories, from their avowed Principles, proved Whigs; or, each side in the other mistaken; being a plain Proof that each Party deny that Charge which the others bring against them; and that neither side will disown those which the others profess; with an earnest Exhortation

to all Whigs, as well as Hanoverian Tories, to lay aside those uncharitable Heats among such Protestants, and seriously to consider, and effectually to provide against those Jacobite, Popish, and Conforming Tories, whose principal Ground of Hope to ruin all sincere Protestants, is from those unchristian and violent Feuds among ourselves. London: printed for J. Baker. 1713. 8vo.

121. A Letter to the Dissenters. London: sold by John Morphew, near Stationer's-hall. 1714. Price 6d. 8vo.
122. The Remedy worse than the Disease; or, Reasons against passing the Bill for preventing the Growth of Schism; to which is added, a brief Discourse on Toleration and Persecution, showing their unavoidable effects, good or bad; and proving that neither Diversity of Religion, nor Diversity in the same Religion, are dangerous, much less inconsistent with good Government; in a Letter to a Noble Earl. 'Hæc sunt enim fundamenta firmissima nostræ libertatis, sui quemque juris et retinendi et dimittendi esse dominum.' Cicer. in Orat. pro Balbo. London: printed for J. Baker. 1714. 8vo. pp. 48.
123. Advice to the People of Great Britain with respect to Two important Points of their future Conduct. 1. What they ought to expect from the King. 2. How they ought to behave to him. London: printed for J. Baker, in Paternoster-row. 1714. Price 6d.
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- jesty had not died. London: J. Baker. 1714. 8vo. pp. 71.
125. The Secret History of the White Staff; being an Account of Affairs under the Conduct of several late Ministers, and of what might probably have happened, if her Majesty had not died. London: J. Baker. Part II. 1714.
126. — Part III. 1715.
127. A Reply to a traitorous Libel, entitled 'English Advice to the Freeholders of Great Britain.' London: printed for J. Baker. 1715. 8vo. pp. 40.
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130. The Family Instructor; in Three Parts; with a Recommendatory Letter by the Rev. S. Wright. London: sold by Emanuel Matthews, at the Bible, in Paternoster-row; and John Button, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 1715. 12mo. pp. 444.
131. A Friendly Epistle by way of Reproof, from one of the People called Quakers, to Thomas Bradbury, a Dealer in many Words. London: printed and sold by S. Keimer, at the Printing Press, in Paternoster-row. 1715. 8vo. pp. 39.
132. A Sharp Rebuke from one of the People called Quakers, to Henry Sacheverell, the High Priest of Andrew's, Holborn. By the same

Friend that wrote to Thomas Bradbury. London: S. Keimer. 1715. 8vo. pp. 35.

133. A Seasonable Expostulation with, and Friendly Reproof unto, James Butler, who, by the Men of this World, is styled Duke of O—d, relating to the Tumults of the People. By the same Friend that wrote to Thomas Bradbury, the Dealer in many Words, and Henry Sacheverell, the High Priest of Andrew's, Holborn. London: S. Keimer. 1715. 8vo. pp. 31.
134. Some Account of the Two Nights' Court at Greenwich; wherein may be seen the Reason, Rise, and Progress of the late unnatural Rebellion against his Sacred Majesty King George, and his Government. London: printed for J. Baker. 1716. 8vo. pp. 72.
135. Memoirs of the Church of Scotland. In Four Periods. 1. The Church in her Infant State, from the Reformation to the Queen Mary's Abdication. 2. The Church in its Growing State, from the Abdication to the Restoration. 3. The Church in its Persecuted State, from the Restoration to the Revolution. 4. The Church in its Present State, from the Revolution to the Union. With an Appendix of some Transactions since the Union. London: printed for Emanuel Matthews, at the Bible, and T. Warner, at the Black Boy, both in Paternoster-row. 1717. 8vo. pp. 438.
136. The Family Instructor; in Two Parts. 1. Relating to Family Breaches, and their obstructing Religious Duties. 2. To the great Mistake of mixing the Passions in the managing and correcting of Children. With a

great Variety of Cases relating to setting ill Examples to Children and Servants. Vol. II. London: printed for Emanuel Matthews, at the Bible, in Paternoster-row. 1718. 12mo. pp. 404.

137. *Memoirs of the Life and eminent Conduct of that Learned and Reverend Divine Daniel Williams, D. D. With some Account of his Scheme for the vigorous Propagation of Religion, as well in England as in Scotland, and in several other Parts of the World. Addressed to Mr. Pierce.* London: printed for E. Curll, at the Dial and Bible, against St. Dunstan's Church, in Fleet-street. 1718. Price 2s. 6d. bound. 8vo. pp. 86.
138. *A Letter to the Dissenters.* London: printed for J. Roberts, in Warwick-lane. 1719. Price 6d. pp. 27.
139. *A curious Oration delivered by Father Andrews, concerning the present great Quarrels that divide the Clergy of France. Translated from the French. By D. De F—e.* London. 1719. 8vo.
140. *The Life, and strange surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, mariner; who lived Eight-and-twenty Years all alone in an uninhabited Island on the Coast of America, near the Mouth of the great River Oroonogue, having been cast on Shore by Shipwreck, wherein all the men perished but himself. With an Account how he was at last strangely delivered by Pirates. Written by Himself.* London: printed for W. Taylor, at the Ship, in Paternoster-row. 1719. 8vo. pp. 364.
141. *The further Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, being the second and last Part of his Life; and the strange surprising Accounts of his*

- Travels round Three Parts of the Globe. Written by Himself. To which is added a Map of the World, in which is delineated the Voyages of Robinson Crusoe. London: printed for W. Taylor. 1719. 8vo. pp. 373.
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man, a Citizen of London, among the Indians; the great Riches he acquired, and his Voyage home to England; as also Captain Singleton's Return to Sea, with an Account of his many Adventures and Pyracies with the famous Captain Avery and others. 8vo. London: printed for J. Brotherton, at the Black Bull, in Cornhill; T. Graves, in St. James's-street; A. Dodd, at the Peacock, without Temple-bar; and T. Warner, at the Black Boy, in Paternoster-row. 1720. 8vo. pp. 360.

144. *Serious Reflections during the Life and surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe. With his Vision of the Angelic World. Written by Himself.* London: printed for W. Taylor. 1722. 8vo. pp. 354.
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146. *The Complete Art of Painting, a Poem; translated from the French of M. Du Fresnoy. By D. F., Gentleman.* London: printed for T. Warner. 1720. Price 1s. 8vo. pp. 54.
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 5. Between Thlipsius and Melaudius about

Afflictions. 6. Between Athanasius and Bioes, about Death. By a Private Gentleman. London: printed for W. Taylor. 1720. 8vo.

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lonel Jack, who was born a Gentleman, put Apprentice to a Pickpocket, flourished Six-and-twenty Years as a Thief, and was then kidnapped to Virginia; came back a Merchant, was five times married to four Whores, went into the Wars, behaved bravely, got Preferment, was made Colonel of a Regiment; returned again to England, followed the Fortunes of the Chevalier de St. George, was taken at the Preston Rebellion; received his Pardon from the late King, is now at the Head of his Regiment, in the Service of the Czarina, fighting against the Turks, completing a Life of Wonders, and resolves to die a General. London: printed for J. Brotherton. 1722.

151. *A Journal of the Plague Year*; being Observations or Memorials of the most remarkable Occurrences, as well Public as Private, which happened in London during the last great Visitation in 1665. Written by a Citizen who continued all the while in London: never made public before. London: printed for E. Nutt, at the Royal Exchange; J. Roberts, in Warwick-lane; A. Dodd, without Temple Bar; and J. Graves, in St. James's-street. 1722. 8vo. pp. 287.

The first edition. The second, published by F. and J. Noble, in 1754, is called 'The History of the Great Plague in London in the Year 1665;' containing Observations, &c. To which is added 'A Journal of the Plague at Marseilles in the Year 1720.' 8vo. The latter piece forms no part of De Foe's publication.

152. *Religious Courtship*: being Historical Discourses on the Necessity of marrying Religious Husbands and Wives only; as also of Husbands and Wives being of the same Opinions in Re-

ligion with one another. With an Appendix, of the Necessity of taking none but Religious Servants, and a Proposal for the better managing of Servants. London: printed for E. Matthews, at the Bible, and A. Bettersworth, at the Red Lion, in Paternoster-row; J. Brotherton and W. Meadows, in Cornhill. 1722. 8vo. pp. 358.

153. *The Fortunate Mistress; or, A History of the Life and vast Variety of Fortunes of Made-moiselle De Belean, afterwards called the Countess De Wintelsheim, in Germany; being the Person known by the name of the Lady Roxana in the time of Charles II.* London: printed for T. Warner, at the Black Boy in Paternoster-row; W. Meadows, at the Angel in Cornhill; W. Pepper, at the Crown in Maiden-lane, Covent-garden; S. Harding, at the Post House in St. Martin's-lane; and T. Edin, at the Prince's Arms against Exeter Change, in the Strand. 1724.
154. *A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain, divided into Circuits or Journies. Giving a Particular and Diverting Account of whatever is Curious and worth Observation, viz: 1. A Description of the principal Cities and Towns, their Situation, Magnitude, Government, and Commerce. 2. The Customs, Manners, Speech, as also the Exercises, Diversions, and Employment of the Poor. 3. The Produce and Improvement of the Lands, the Trade and Manufactures. 4. The Sea-ports and Fortifications, the Course of Rivers, and the Inland Navigation. 5. The public Edifices, Seats, and Palaces of the Nobility and Gentry: with useful Observations upon the whole. Particularly fitted for the reading of such as*

desire to travel over the Island. By a Gentleman. London: printed and sold by G. Strahan, in Cornhill; W. Mears, at the Lamb, without Temple Bar; R. Francklin, under Tom's Coffee-house, Covent-garden; T. Chapman, at the Angel in Pall Mall; R. Stagg, in Westminster Hall; and J. Graves, in St. James's-street. 1724.

All the subsequent editions vary considerably from the original. This work is frequently confounded with John Macky's 'Journey through England, in Familiar Letters from a gentleman here to his Friend abroad. 1722.'

155. *The Great Law of Subordination Considered; or, the Insolence and unsufferable Behaviour of Servants in England, duly inquired into. Illustrated with a great variety of Examples, historical Cases, and remarkable Stories of the Behaviour of some particular Servants, suited to all the several Arguments made use of as they go on. In Ten Familiar Letters; together with a Conclusion, being an earnest and moving Remonstrance to the Housekeepers and Heads of Families in Great Britain, pressing them not to cease using their utmost Interest (especially at this Juncture) to obtain sufficient Laws for the effectual Regulations of the Manners and Behaviour of their Servants. As also, a Proposal, containing such Heads, or Constitutions, as would effectually answer this great end, and bring Servants of every Class to a just, and yet not a grievous Regulation.* London: sold by S. Harding, at the Post House, in St. Martin's-lane, and other Booksellers. 1724. 8vo. pp. 302.

156. *A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain, divided into Circuits or Journies. Giving a Particular and Diverting Account of what-*

ever is curious and worth Observation, viz; 1. A Description of the principal Cities and Towns, their Situation, Magnitude, Government, and Commerce. 2. The Customs, Manners, Speech, as also the Exercises, Diversions, and Employment of the Poor. 3. The Produce and Improvement of the Lands, the Trade and Manufactures. 4. The Sea-ports and Fortifications, the Course of Rivers, and the Inland Navigation. 5. The public Edifices, Seats, and Palaces of the Nobility and Gentry; with useful Observations upon the whole. Particularly fitted for the reading of such as desire to travel over the Island. With a Map of England and Wales by Mr. Moll. Vol. 2. By a Gentleman. London: printed and sold by G. Strahan, in Cornhill; W. Mears, at the Lamb, without Temple Bar; R. Francklin, under Tom's Coffee-house, Covent-garden; S. Chapman and J. Jackson, in Pall Mall; R. Stagg, in Westminster Hall. 1725.

157. Everybody's Business is Nobody's Business; or, Private Abuses public Grievances. Exemplified in the Pride, Insolence, and exorbitant Wages of our Women-Servants, Footmen, &c. With a Proposal for Amendment of the same, as also, for the clearing the Streets of those Vermin called Shoe Cleaners, and substituting in their stead many Thousands of industrious Poor now ready to starve. With divers other Hints of great Use to the Public. Humbly submitted to the Consideration of our Legislature, and the careful Perusal of all Masters and Mistresses of Families. By Andrew Moreton, Esq. London: printed for W. Meadows, in Cornhill; and sold by T. Warner, Paternoster-row; A. Dodd, without Temple Bar; and E.

Nutt, at the Royal Exchange. 1725. 8vo. pp. 36.

158. *Mere Nature Delineated; or, a Body without a Soul. Being Observations upon 'The Young Forester,' lately brought to town from Germany: with suitable Applications. Also a brief Dissertation upon the Usefulness and Necessity of Fools, whether political or natural.* London: printed for T. Warner, at the Black Boy, in Paternoster-row. 1726. Price 1s. 6d. 8vo. pp. 123.
159. *A New Voyage round the World, by a Course never sailed before. Being a Voyage undertaken by some Merchants, who afterwards proposed the setting up an East India Company in Flanders.* London: printed for and sold by A. Bettesworth, at the Red Lion, in Paternoster-row; and W. Mears, at the Lamb, without Temple Bar. 1725.
160. *An Essay upon Literature; or, An Inquiry into the Antiquity and Origin of Letters; proving that the Two Tables, written by the finger of God in Mount Sinai, was the first writing in the world; and that all other Alphabets derive from the Hebrew. With a short View of the Methods made use of by the Ancients to supply the Want of Letters before, and impose the Use of them after they were known.* London: printed for Thomas Bowles, Printseller, next to the Chapter House, St. Paul's Church-yard; John Clark, Bookseller, under the Piazza, Royal Exchange; and John Bowles, Printseller, over against the Stocks Market. 1726. 8vo. pp. 127.
161. *The Political History of the Devil, as well Ancient as Modern: in two Parts. Part 1. Containing a state of the Devil's Circumstances,*

and the various turns of his Affairs, from his Expulsion out of Heaven to the Creation of Man; with Remarks on the several Mistakes concerning the Reason and Manner of his Fall. Also, his Proceedings with Mankind ever since Adam, to the first Planting of the Christian Religion in the World. Part II. Containing his more Private Conduct, down to the present Time; his Government, his Appearance, his Manner of Working, and the Tools he works with.

Bad as he is, the devil may be abused,
Be falsely charged and causelessly accused;
When men unwilling to be blamed alone,
Shift all the crimes on him which are their own.

London: printed for T. Warner, at the Black Boy in Paternoster-row. 1726. 8vo. pp. 408.

In the second edition, published in the same year, it is called 'The History of the Devil,' &c., but in the subsequent editions the original title is restored. A third edition was called for in 1734; a fourth in 1739; another in 1770; and since then it has been frequently reprinted both in London and the country.

162. The History of the Principal Discoveries and Improvements in the several Arts and Sciences; particularly the great branches of Commerce, Navigation, and Plantation, in all parts of the known World. London: printed for W. Mears, at the Lamb; F. Clay, at the Bible; and D. Browne, at the Black Swan, without Temple Bar. 1727.

163. A Tour through the whole Island of Great Britian, divided into Circuits or Journies. Giving a Particular and Diverting Account of whatever is curious and worth Observation, viz. 1. A Description of the principal Cities and Towns, their Situation, Magnitude, Government, and Commerce. 2. The Customs, Manners, Speech, as also the Exercises, Di-

- versions, and Employment of the Poor. 3. The Produce and Improvement of the Lands, the Trade and Manufactures. 4. The Sea-ports and Fortifications, the Course of Rivers, and the Inland Navigation. 5. The public Edifices, Seats, and Palaces of the Nobility and Gentry: with useful Observations upon the whole. Particularly fitted for the reading of such as desire to travel over the Island. Vol. 3. Which completes the work, and contains a Tour through Scotland, &c. With a Map of Scotland by Mr. Mole. By a Gentleman. London: printed and sold by G. Strahan, in Cornhill; W. Mears, at the Lamb, without Temple Bar; and R. Stagg in Westminster Hall. 1727.
164. A System of Magic; or, A History of the Black Art. Being an Historical Account of Mankind's most early Dealings with the Devil, and how the Acquaintance on both sides first began.
- Our magic now commands the troops of hell,
The devil himself submits to charm and spell.
The conjuror in his orders and his rounds,
Just whistles up his spirits, as men do hounds;
The obsequious devil obeys the sorcerer's skill,
The mill turns round the horse, that first turns round
the mill.
- London: printed and sold by J. Roberts, in Warwick-lane. 1727. Svo. pp. 403.
165. An Essay on the History and Reality of Apparitions. Being an Account of what they are, and are not. As also, how we may distinguish between the Apparitions of Good and Evil Spirits, and how we ought to behave to them. With a great Variety of Surprising and Diverting Examples, never published before.

By death transported to the eternal shore,
Souls so removed revisit us no more ;
Engrossed with joys of a superior kind,
They leave the trifling thoughts of life behind.

London: printed and sold by J. Roberts, in
Warwick-lané. 1727. 8vo. pp. 395.

This work was issued for the third time, in 1738, with the following title: 'The Secrets of the Invisible World Disclosed; or, An Universal History of Apparitions, Sacred and Profane, under all Denominations, whether Angelical, Diabolical, or Human Souls departed, showing—1. Their various Returns to this World; with some Rules to know, by their Manner of Appearing, if they are Good or Evil ones. 2. The Differences of the Apparitions of Ancient and Modern Times; and an Inquiry into the Spiritual Doctrine of Spirits. 3. The many Species of Apparitions, their real Existence and Operations by Divine Appointment. 4. The nature of seeing Ghosts before and after Death; and how we should behave towards them. 5. The Effects of Fancy, Vapours, Dreams, Hyppo, and of real and imaginary Appearances. 6. A Collection of the most Authentic Relations of Apparitions, particularly that surprising one attested by the learned Dr. Scott. By Andrew Moreton, Esq. London: printed and sold by J. Roberts, in Warwick-lané.' 8vo. pp. 395. It has since been reprinted in a smaller size.

166. The Protestant Monastery; or, a Complaint against the Brutality of the present Age, particularly the Pertness and Insolence of our Youth to aged Persons. With a Caution to People in Years how they give the Staff out of their own Hands, and leave themselves at the Mercy of others; concluding with a Proposal for erecting a Protestant Monastery, where Persons of small Fortunes may end their Days in Plenty, Ease, and Credit, without burthening their Relations, or accepting Public Charities. By Andrew Moreton, Esq., Author of 'Everybody's Business is Nobody's Business.' London: printed for W. Meadows, at the Angel, in Cornhill; and other Booksellers. 1727. 8vo. pp. 31.

167. *Parochial Tyranny; or, the Housekeeper's Complaint against the insupportable Exactions and partial Assessments of Select Vestries, &c., with a plain Detection of many Abuses committed in the Distribution of Public Charities: together with a practicable Proposal for Amendment of the same, which will not only take off great part of the Parish Taxes now subsisting, but ease Parishioners from serving troublesome offices, or paying exorbitant Fines.* By Andrew Moreton, Esq. London: printed for W. Meadows, at the Angel, in Cornhill; and other Booksellers, 8vo.
168. *A New Family Instructor. In Familiar Discourses between a Father and his Children, on the most Essential Points of the Christian Religion. In Two Parts. Part I. Containing a Father's Instructions to his Son upon his going to Travel into Popish Countries; and to the rest of his Children on his Son's turning Papist; confirming them in the Protestant Religion, against the Absurdities of Popery. Part II. Instructions against the Three Grand Errors of the Times; viz. 1. Asserting the Divine Authority of the Scripture against the Deists. 2. Proofs that the Messiah is already come, &c.; against the Atheists and Jews. 3. Asserting the Divinity of Jesus Christ, that He was really the same with the Messiah, and that Messiah was to be really God; against our modern heretics. With a Poem on the Divine Nature of Jesus Christ; in Blank Verse.* By the Author of 'The Family Instructor.' London: printed for T. Warner, at the Black-Boy, in Paternoster-row. 1727. 8vo. pp. 384.

A second edition, with a varying title, was published in 1732, by C. Rivington and T. Warner. It is there called 'A New Family Instructor: containing a Brief and Clear Defence of the Christian Religion in general, against the Errors of the Atheists, Jews, Deists, and Sceptics: and of the Protestant Religion in particular, against the Superstitions of the Church of Rome. In Familiar Discourses between a Father and his Children. In Two Parts, &c.

169. A Treatise concerning the Use and Abuse of the Marriage Bed; showing, 1. The Nature of Matrimony, its sacred Original, and the true Meaning of its Institution. 2. The gross Abuse of Matrimonial Chastity, from the wrong Notions which have possessed the World, degenerating even to Whoredom. 3. The Diabolical Practice of attempting to prevent Child-bearing by Physical Preparations. 4. The fatal Consequences of clandestine or forced Marriages, through the Persuasion, Interest, or Influence of Parents and Relations, to wed the Person they have no Love for, but often an Aversion to. 5. Of unequal Matches as in the Disproportion of Age; and how such many ways occasion a Matrimonial Whoredom. 6. How married Persons may be guilty of Conjugal Lewdness, and that a Man may, in effect, make a Whore of his own Wife. Also many other Particulars of Family concern. London: printed for T. Warner, at the Black Boy, in Paternoster-row. 1727. Price 5s. 8vo. pp. 406.

This work was at first called 'Conjugal Lewdness; or, Matrimonial Whoredom;' but this title being considered offensive to delicacy, the author immediately cancelled it, and substituted the above title.

170. The Complete English Tradesman: in Familiar Letters, directing him in all the several Parts and Professions of Trade; viz. 1.

Of acquainting him with the Business during his Apprenticeship. 2. Of Writing to Correspondents in a Trading Style. 3. Of Diligence and Application, as the Life of all Business. 4. Cautions against Over-trading. 5. Of the ordinary Occasions of a Tradesman's Ruin; such as Expensive Living, too early Marrying, Innocent Diversions, too much Credit, being above Business, Dangerous Partnerships, &c. 6. Directions in several Distresses of a Tradesman, when he comes to fail. 7. Of Tradesmen compounding with other Tradesmen, and why they are so particularly severe upon one another. 8. Of Tradesmen ruining one another by Rumours and Scandal. 9. Of the customary Frauds of Trade, and particularly of Trading Lies. 10. Of Credit, and how it is only to be supported by Honesty. 11. Of Punctual Paying Bills, and thereby Maintaining Credit. 12. Of the Dignity and Honour of Trade in England more than in other Countries. To which is added, a Supplement; containing, 1. A Warning against Tradesmen's borrowing Money upon Interest. 2. A Caution against that destructive Practice of Drawing and Remitting, as also Discounting Promissory Bills, merely for a Supply of Cash. 3. Directions for the Tradesman's Accounts, with brief, but plain Examples and Specimens for Book-keeping. 4. Of keeping a Duplicate or Pocket Ledger, in case of Fire. London: printed for C. Rivington, at the Bible and Crown, St. Paul's Church-yard. 1727. 8vo. pp. 474.

171. *The Complete English Tradesman*, Vol. II. In Two Parts. Part I. Directed chiefly to

the more experienced Tradesman ; with Cautions and Advices to them after they are thriven, and suppose to be grown rich, viz., 1. Against running out of their Business into needless Projects and dangerous Adventures, no Tradesman being above Disaster. 2. Against Oppressing one another by Engrossing, Underselling, Combinations in Trade, &c. 3. Advices, that when he leaves off Business, he should part Friends with the World ; the great Advantages of it ; with a Word of the scandalous Character of a Purse-proud Tradesman. 4. Against being Litigious and Vexatious, and apt to go to Law for Trifles ; with some Reasons why Tradesmen's Differences should, if possible, be all ended by Arbitration. Part II. Being useful generals in Trade, describing the Principles and Foundation of the Home Trade of Great Britain ; with large Tables of our Manufactures, Calculations of the Product, Shipping, Carriage of Goods by Land, Importation from Abroad, Consumption at Home, &c., by all which the infinite number of our Tradesmen are employed, and the general Wealth of the Nation raised and increased. The whole calculated for the Use of all our Inland Tradesmen, as well in the City as in the Country. London : Charles Rivington. 1727; 8vo. pp. 474.

172. A Plan of the English Commerce. Being a Complete Prospect of the Trade of this Nation, as well the Home Trade as the Foreign. In Three Parts: 1. Containing a View of the present Magnitude of the English Trade as it respects the Exportation of our own Growth and Manufacture. 2. The Importation of

Merchant Goods from Abroad. 3. The prodigious Consumption of both at Home. Part II. Containing an Answer to that great and important Question now depending, whether our Trade, and especially our Manufactures, are in a declining Condition, or no? Part III. Containing several Proposals, entirely new, for Extending and Improving our Trade, and Promoting the Consumption of our Manufactures in Countries wherewith we have hitherto had no Commerce. Humbly offered to the Consideration of King and Parliament. London: printed for Charles Rivington. 1728. 8vo. pp. 368.

To the second edition in 1730, were added 'An Appendix, containing a View of the Increase of Commerce, not only of England, but of all the Trading Nations of Europe since the Peace with Spain.' A third edition in 8vo. was printed by Rivington in 1737; in which it is called, by mistake, the *second*.

173. *Augusta Triumphans: or, the Way to make London the most Flourishing City in the Universe.* 1. By establishing a University, where Gentlemen may have an Academical Education, under the Eye of their Friends. 2. To prevent much, &c., by an Hospital for Foundlings. 3. By suppressing pretended Mad-Houses, where many of the Fair Sex are unjustly Confined, while their Husbands keep Mistresses, &c., and many Widows are locked up for the sake of their Jointures. 4. To save our Children from Destruction, by clearing the Streets of Impudent Strumpets, suppressing Gambling-Tables, and Sunday Debauches. 5. To avoid the expensive Importation of Foreign Musicians, by forming an Academy of our own. 6. To save our Lower Class of People from utter Ruin, and

render them useful, by preventing the immoderate use of Geneva ; with a frank Exposure of many other common Abuses, and incontestible Rules for Amendment. Concluding with an effectual Method to prevent Street Robberies ; and a Letter to Colonel Robinson, on account of the Orphan's Tax. London : printed for J. Roberts and other Booksellers. 1728. 8vo. pp. 63.

174. Second Thoughts are Best ; or, a further Improvement of a late Scheme to prevent Street Robberies. By which our Streets will be so strongly guarded, and so gloriously illuminated, that any part of London will be as safe and pleasant at Midnight as at Noonday, and Burglary totally impracticable. With some Thoughts for suppressing Robberies in all the Public Roads of England, &c. Humbly offered for the Good of his Country, submitted to the Consideration of Parliament, and dedicated to his Sacred Majesty King George II. By Andrew Moreton, Esq. London : printed for W. Meadows, at the Angel, in Cornhill, and sold by J. Roberts, in Warwick-lane. 1729. Price 6d. 8vo. pp. 24.

Besides the above, De Foe left behind him, prepared for the press, a work on the 'Conduct of a Gentleman,' which is now in the possession of Dawson Turner, Esq., of Yarmouth.

AN APPEAL
TO
HONOUR AND JUSTICE,

THOUGH IT BE OF HIS WORST ENEMIES,

BY
DANIEL DE FOE;

BEING

A TRUE ACCOUNT OF HIS CONDUCT IN PUBLIC
AFFAIRS.

“Come and let us smite him with the tongue, and let us not give heed to any of his words.” JEREMIAH, xviii. 18.

L O N D O N :

Printed for and Sold by J. BAKER, at the *Black
Boy* in *Paternoster-Row*.

1715.

APPEAL, &c.

I HOPE the time is come at last when the voice of moderate principles may be heard. Hitherto the noise has been so great, and the prejudices and passions of men so strong, that it had been but in vain to offer at any argument, or for any man to talk of giving a reason for his actions; and this alone has been the cause why, when other men, who, I think, have less to say in their own defence, are appealing to the public, and struggling to defend themselves, I alone have been silent under the infinite clamours and reproaches, causeless curses, unusual threatenings, and the most unjust and injurious treatment in the world.

I hear much of people's calling out to punish the guilty, but very few are concerned to clear the innocent. I hope some will be inclined to judge impartially, and have yet reserved so much of the Christian as to believe, and at least to hope, that a rational creature cannot abandon himself so as to act without some reason, and are willing not only to have me defend myself, but to be able to answer for me where they hear me causelessly insulted by others, and, therefore, are willing to have such just arguments put into their mouths as the cause will bear.

As for those who are prepossessed, and according to the modern justice of parties are resolved to be so, let them go; I am not arguing with them, but against them; they act so contrary to justice, to reason, to religion, so contrary to the rules of

Christians and of good manners, that they are not to be argued with, but to be exposed, or entirely neglected. I have a receipt against all the uneasiness which it may be supposed to give me, and that is, to condemn slander, and think it not worth the least concern; neither should I think it worth while to give any answer to it, if it were not on some other accounts of which I shall speak as I go on. If any young man ask me why I am in such haste to publish this matter at this time, among many other good reasons which I could give, these are some:—

1. I think I have long enough been made *Fabula Vulgi*, and borne the weight of general slander; and I should be wanting to truth, to my family, and to myself, if I did not give a fair and true state of my conduct, for impartial men to judge of, when I am no more in being to answer for myself.

2. By the hints of mortality, and by the infirmities of a life of sorrow and fatigue, I have reason to think I am not a great way off from, if not very near to, the great ocean of eternity, and the time may not be long ere I embark on the last voyage. Wherefore, I think I should even accounts with this world before I go, that no actions (slanders) may lie against my heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, to disturb them in the peaceable possession of their father's (character) inheritance.

3. I fear—God grant I have not a second-sight in it—that this lucid interval of temper and moderation, which shines, though dimly too, upon us at this time, will be but of short continuance, and that some men, who know not how to use the advantage God has put into their hands with moderation, will push, in spite of the best prince in the world, at such extravagant things, and act with such an intemperate forwardness, as will revive the heats and animosities which wise and good men were in hopes should be

allayed by the happy accession of the king to the throne.

It is and ever was my opinion, that moderation is the only virtue by which the peace and tranquillity of this nation can be preserved. Even the king himself—I believe his majesty will allow me that freedom—can only be happy in the enjoyment of the crown by a moderate administration. If his majesty should be obliged, contrary to his known disposition, to join with intemperate councils, if it does not lessen his security, I am persuaded it will lessen his satisfaction. It cannot be pleasant or agreeable, and I think it cannot be safe, to any just prince, to rule over a divided people, split into incensed and exasperated parties. Though a skilful mariner may have courage to master a tempest, and goes fearless through a storm, yet he can never be said to delight in the danger; a fresh, fair gale, and a quiet sea, is the pleasure of his voyage, and we have a saying worth notice to them that are otherwise minded, *Qui amat periculum, periebat in illo*.

To attain at the happy calm, which, as I say, is the safety of Britain, is the question which should now move us all; and he would merit to be called the nation's physician that could prescribe the specific for it. I think I may be allowed to say, a conquest of parties will never do it; a balance of parties may. Some are for the former; they talk high of punishments, letting blood, revenging the treatment they have met with, and the like. If they, not knowing what spirit they are of, think this the course to be taken, let them try their hands; I shall give them up for lost, and look for their downfall from that time; for the ruin of all such tempers slumbereth not.

It is many years that I have professed myself an enemy to all precipitations in public administrations;

and often I have attempted to show, that hot councils have ever been destructive to those who have made use of them. Indeed, they have not always been a disadvantage to the nation, as in king James II.'s reign, when, as I have often said in print, his precipitation was the safety of us all: and if he had proceeded temperately and politicly, we had been undone. *Felix quem faciunt.*

But these things have been spoken when your ferment has been too high for anything to be heard; whether you will hear it now or no, I know not; and therefore it was that I said, I fear the present cessation of party arms will not hold long. These are some of the reasons why I think this is the proper juncture for me to give some account of myself, and of my past conduct to the world; and that I may do this as effectually as I can, being perhaps never more to speak from the press, I shall, as concisely as I can, give an abridgment of my own history during the few unhappy years I have employed myself, or been employed, in public in the world.

Misfortunes in business having unhinged me from matters of trade, it was about the year 1694 when I was invited by some merchants, with whom I had corresponded abroad, and some also at home, to settle at Cadiz, in Spain, and that with offers of very good commissions. But Providence, which had other work for me to do, placed a secret aversion in my mind to quitting England upon any account, and made me refuse the best offers of that kind, to be concerned with some eminent persons at home in proposing ways and means to the government, for raising money to supply the occasions of the war then newly begun. Some time after this I was, without the least application of mine, and being then seventy miles from London, sent for to be accountant

to the commissioners of the glass duty, in which service I continued to the determination of their commission.

During this time there came out a vile abhorred pamphlet in very ill verse, written by one Mr. Tutchin, and called *The Foreigners*, in which the author—who he was I then knew not—fell personally upon the king himself, and then upon the Dutch nation; and after having reproached his majesty with crimes that his worst enemy could not think of without horror, he sums up all in the odious name of FOREIGNER.

This filled me with a kind of rage against the book, and gave birth to a trifle, which I never could hope should have met with so general an acceptance as it did; I mean *The True-born Englishman*. How this poem was the occasion of my being known to his majesty; how I was afterwards received by him; how employed; and how, above my capacity of deserving, rewarded, is no part of the present case, and is only mentioned here, as I take all occasions to do, for the expressing the honour I ever preserved for the immortal and glorious memory of that greatest and best of princes, and whom it was my honour and advantage to call master, as well as sovereign; whose goodness to me I never forgot, neither can forget; and whose memory I never patiently heard abused, nor ever can do so; and who, had he lived, would never have suffered me to be treated as I have been in the world. But Heaven for our sins removed him in judgment. How far the treatment he met with from the nation he came to save, and whose deliverance he finished, was admitted by Heaven to be a means of his death, I desire to forget for their sakes who are guilty; and if this calls any of it to mind, it is mentioned to move them to treat him better who is now, with like principles of goodness

and clemency, appointed by God and the constitution to be their sovereign, lest He that protects righteous princes avenge the injuries they receive from an ungrateful people by giving them up to the confusions their madness leads them to.

And in their just acclamations at the happy accession of his present majesty to the throne, I cannot but advise them to look back and call to mind who it was that first guided them to the family of Hanover, and to pass by all the popish branches of Orleans and Savoy; recognising the just authority of parliament in the undoubted right of limiting the succession, and establishing that glorious maxim of our settlement, viz., that it is inconsistent with the constitution of this protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince. I say, let them call to mind who it was that guided their thoughts first to the protestant race of our own kings in the house of Hanover; and that it is to king William, next to Heaven itself, to whom we owe the enjoying a protestant king at this time. I need not go back to the particulars of his majesty's conduct in that affair; his journey in person to the country of Hanover and the court of Zell; his particular management of the affair afterwards at home, perfecting the design by naming the illustrious family to the nation, and bringing about a parliamentary settlement to effect it; entailing the crown thereby in so effectual a manner as we see has been sufficient to prevent the worst designs of our Jacobite people in behalf of the pretender; a settlement, together with the subsequent acts which followed it, and the Union with Scotland, which made it unalterable, that gave a complete satisfaction to those who knew and understood it, and removed those terrible apprehensions of the pretender (which some entertained) from the minds of others, who were yet as zealous against

him as it was possible for any to be. Upon this settlement, as I shall show presently, I grounded my opinion, which I often expressed, viz., that I did not see it possible the Jacobites could ever set up their idol here, and I think my opinion abundantly justified in the consequences; of which by and by.

This digression, as a debt to the glorious memory of king William, I could not in justice omit; and as the reign of his present majesty is esteemed happy, and looked upon as a blessing from heaven by us, it will most necessarily lead us to bless the memory of king William, to whom we owe so much of it. How easily could his majesty have led us to other branches, whose relation to the crown might have had large pretences! What prince but would have submitted to have educated a successor of his race in the protestant religion for the sake of such a crown? But the king, who had our happiness in view, and saw as far into it as any human sight could penetrate; who knew we were not to be governed by inexperienced youths; that the protestant religion was not to be established by political converts; and that princes, under French influence, or instructed in French politics, were not proper instruments to preserve the liberties of Britain, fixed his eyes upon the family which now possesses the crown, as not only having an undoubted relation to it by blood, but as being first and principally zealous and powerful asserters of the protestant religion and interest against popery; and, secondly, stored with a visible succession of worthy and promising branches, who appeared equal to the weight of government, qualified to fill a throne and guide a nation, which, without reflection, are not famed to be the most easy to rule in the world.

Whether the consequence has been a credit to king William's judgment I need not say. I am

not writing panegyrics here, but doing justice to the memory of the king my master, whom I have had the honour very often to hear express himself with great satisfaction in having brought the settlement of the succession to so good an issue ; and, to repeat his majesty's own words, that he knew no prince in Europe so fit to be king of England as the elector of Hanover. I am persuaded, without any flattery, that if it should not every way answer the expectations his majesty had of it, the fault will be our own. God grant the king may have more comfort of his crown than we suffered king William to have !

The king being dead, and the queen proclaimed, the hot men of that side, as the hot men of all sides do, thinking the game in their own hands, and all other people under their feet, began to run out into those mad extremes, and precipitate themselves into such measures as, according to the fate of all intemperate councils, ended in their own confusion, and threw them at last out of the saddle.

The queen, who, though willing to favour the high-church party, did not thereby design the ruin of those whom she did not employ, was soon alarmed at their wild conduct, and turned them out, adhering to the moderate counsels of those who better understood, or more faithfully pursued, her majesty's and the country's interest. In this turn fell sir Edward Seymour's party, for so the high men were then called ; and to this turn we owe the conversion of several other great men, who became whigs on that occasion, which it is known they were not before ; which conversion afterwards begat that unkind distinction of old whig and modern whig, which some of the former were with very little justice pleased to run up afterwards to an extreme very pernicious to both.

But I am gone too far in this part. I return to my own story.

In the interval of these things, and during the heat of the first fury of highflying, I fell a sacrifice for writing against the rage and madness of that high party, and in the service of the dissenters. What justice I met with, and, above all, what mercy, is too well known to need repetition.

This introduction is made that it may bring me to what has been the foundation of all my further concern in public affairs, and will produce a sufficient reason for my adhering to those whose obligations upon me were too strong to be resisted, even when many things were done by them which I could not approve; and for this reason it is that I think it necessary to distinguish how far I did or did not adhere to, or join in or with, the persons or conduct of the late government; and those who are willing to judge with impartiality and charity, will see reason to use me the more tenderly in their thoughts, when they weigh the particulars.

I will make no reflections upon the treatment I met with from the people I suffered for, or how I was abandoned even in my sufferings, at the same time that they acknowledged the service I had been to their cause; but I must mention it to let you know that while I lay friendless and distressed in the prison of Newgate, my family ruined, and myself without hope of deliverance, a message was brought me from a person of honour, who, till that time, I had never had the least acquaintance with, or knowledge of, other than by fame, or by sight, as we know men of quality by seeing them on public occasions. I gave no present answer to the person who brought it, having not duly weighed the import of the message. The message was by

word of mouth thus :—" Pray, ask that gentleman what I can do for him ?" But in return to this kind and generous message, I immediately took my pen and ink, and wrote the story of the blind man in the gospel, who followed our Saviour, and to whom our blessed Lord put the question, " What wilt thou that I should do unto thee ?" Who, as if he had made it strange that such a question should be asked, or as if he had said that I am blind, and yet ask me what thou shalt do for me ? My answer is plain in my misery, " Lord, that I may receive my sight ?"

I needed not to make the application. And from this time, although I lay four months in prison after this, and heard no more of it, yet from this time, as I learned afterwards, this noble person made it his business to have my case represented to her majesty, and methods taken for my deliverance.

I mention this part, because I am no more to forget the obligation upon me to the queen, than to my first benefactor.

When her majesty came to have the truth of the case laid before her, I soon felt the effects of her royal goodness and compassion. And first, her majesty declared, that she left all that matter to a certain person, and did not think he would have used me in such a manner. Probably these words may seem imaginary to some, and the speaking them to be of no value, and so they would have been had they not been followed with further and more convincing proofs of what they imported, which were these, that her majesty was pleased particularly to inquire into my circumstances and family, and by my lordtreasurer Godolphin to send a considerable supply to my wife and family, and to send to me the prison money to pay my fine and the expenses

of my discharge. Whether this be a just foundation let my enemies judge. Here is the foundation on which I built my first sense of duty to her majesty's person, and the indelible bond of gratitude to my first benefactor.

Gratitude and fidelity are inseparable from an honest man. But, to be thus obliged by a stranger, by a man of quality and honour, and after that by the sovereign under whose administration I was suffering, let any one put himself in my stead, and examine upon what principles I could ever act against either such a queen, or such a benefactor; and what must my own heart reproach me with, what blushes must have covered my face when I had looked in, and called myself ungrateful to him that saved me thus from distress, or her that fetched me out of the dungeon, and gave my family relief? Let any man who knows what principles are, what engagements of honour and gratitude are, make his case his own, and say what I could have done more or less than I have done.

I must go on a little with the detail of the obligation, and then I shall descend to relate what I have done, and what I have not done, in the case.

Being delivered from the distress I was in, her majesty, who was not satisfied to do me good by a single act of her bounty, had the goodness to think of taking me into her service, and I had the honour to be employed in several honourable, though secret services, by the interposition of my first benefactor, who then appeared as a member in the public administration.

I had the happiness to discharge myself in all these trusts so much to the satisfaction of those who employed me, though oftentimes with difficulty and danger, that my lord treasurer Godolphin, whose memory I have always honoured, was pleased to

continue his favour to me, and to do me all good offices with her majesty, even after an unhappy breach had separated him from my first benefactor, the particulars of which may not be improper to relate; and as it is not an injustice to any, so I hope it will not be offensive.

When, upon that fatal breach, the secretary of state was dismissed from the service, I looked upon myself as lost; it being a general rule in such cases, when a great officer falls, that all who came in by his interest fall with him; and resolving never to abandon the fortunes of the man to whom I owed so much of my own, I quitted the usual applications which I had made to my lord treasurer.

But my generous benefactor, when he understood it, frankly told me that I should by no means do so; "For," said he, in the most engaging terms, "my lord treasurer will employ you in nothing but what is for the public service, and agreeably to your own sentiments of things; and besides, it is the queen you are serving, who has been very good to you. Pray, apply yourself as you used to do; I shall not take it ill from you in the least."

Upon this, I went to wait on my lord-treasurer, who received me with great freedom, and told me, smiling, he had not seen me a long while. I told his lordship very frankly the occasion—that the unhappy breach that had fallen out made me doubtful whether I should be acceptable to his lordship. That I knew it was usual when great persons fall, that all who were in their interest fell with them. That his lordship knew the obligations I was under, and that I could not but fear my interest in his lordship was lessened on that account. "Not at all, Mr. De Foe," replied his lordship, "I always think a man honest till I find to the contrary."

Upon this, I attended his lordship as usual ; and being resolved to remove all possible ground of suspicion that I kept any secret correspondence, I never visited, or wrote to, or any way corresponded with my principal benefactor for above three years ; which he so well knew the reason of, and so well approved that punctual behaviour in me, that he never took it ill from me at all.

In consequence of this reception, my lord Godolphin had the goodness not only to introduce me for the second time to her majesty, and to the honour of kissing her hand, but obtained for me the continuance of an appointment which her majesty had been pleased to make me, in consideration of a formal special service I had done, and in which I had run as much risk of my life as a grenadier upon the counterscarp ; and which appointment, however, was first obtained for me at the intercession of my said first benefactor, and is all owing to that intercession and her majesty's bounty. Upon this second introduction, her majesty was pleased to tell me, with a goodness peculiar to herself, that she had such satisfaction in my former services, that she had appointed me for another affair, which was something nice, and that my lord treasurer should tell me the rest ; and so I withdrew.

The next day, his lordship having commanded me to attend, told me that he must send me to Scotland, and gave me but three days to prepare myself. Accordingly, I went to Scotland, where neither my business, nor the manner of my discharging it, is material to this tract ; nor will it be ever any part of my character that I reveal what should be concealed. And yet, my errand was such as was far from being unfit for a sovereign to direct, or an honest man to perform ; and the service I did upon that occasion, as it is not

unknown to the greatest man now in the nation under the king and the prince, so, I dare say, his grace was never displeased with the part I had in it, and I hope will not forget it.

These things I mention upon this account, and no other, viz., to state the obligation I have been in all along to her majesty personally, and to my first benefactor principally ; by which I say, I think I was at least obliged not to act against them, even in those things which I might not approve. Whether I have acted with them further than I ought, shall be spoken of by itself.

Having said thus much of the obligations laid on me, and the persons by whom, I have this only to add, that I think no man will say, a subject could be under greater bonds to his prince, or a private person to a minister of state ; and I shall ever preserve this principle, that an honest man cannot be ungrateful to his benefactor.

But let no man run away now with the notion, that I am now intending to plead the obligation that was laid upon me from her majesty, or from any other person, to justify my doing anything that is not otherwise to be justified in itself.

Nothing would be more injurious than such a construction ; and therefore I capitulate for so much justice as to explain myself by this declaration, viz., that I only speak of those obligations as binding me to a negative conduct, not to fly in the face of, or concern myself in disputes with those to whom I was under such obligations, although I might not, in my judgment, join in many things that were done. No obligation could excuse me in calling evil good, or good evil ; but I am of the opinion, that I might justly think myself obliged to defend what I thought was to be defended, and to be silent in anything which I might think was not.

If this is a crime, I must plead guilty, and give in the history of my obligation above mentioned as an extenuation at least, if not a justification of my conduct.

Suppose a man's father was guilty of several things unlawful and unjustifiable; a man may heartily detest the unjustifiable thing, and yet it ought not to be expected that he should expose his father. I think the case on my side exactly the same, nor can the duty to a parent be more strongly obliging than the obligation laid on me; but I must allow the case on the other side not the same.

And this brings me to the affirmative, and inquire what the matters of fact are; what I have done, or have not done, on account of these obligations which I am under.

It is a general suggestion, and is affirmed with such assurance, that they tell me it is in vain to contradict it, that I have been employed by the earl of Oxford, late lord treasurer, in the late disputes about public affairs, to write for him, or, to put it into their own particulars, have written by his directions taken the materials from him, been dictated to or instructed by him, or by other persons from him, by his order, and the like; and that I have received a pension, or salary, or payment from his lordship for such services as these. It was impossible, since these things have been so confidently affirmed, but that, if I could put it into words that would more fully express the meaning of these people, I profess I would do it. One would think that some evidence might be produced, some facts might appear, some one or other might be found that could speak of certain knowledge. To say things have been carried too closely to be discovered, is saying nothing, for then they must

own that it is not discovered ; and how then can they affirm it as they do, with such an assurance as nothing ought to be affirmed by honest men, unless they were able to prove it ?

To speak, then, to the fact. Were the reproach upon me only in this particular, I should not mention it. I should not think it a reproach to be directed by a man to whom the queen had at that time entrusted the administration of the government. But, as it is a reproach upon his lordship, justice requires that I do right in this case. The thing is true or false. I would recommend it to those who would be called honest men, to consider but one thing, viz., what if it should not be true ? Can they justify the injury done to that person, or to any person concerned ? If it cannot be proved, if no vestiges appear to ground it upon, how can they charge men upon rumours and reports, and join to run down men's characters by the stream of clamour ?

Sed quo rapit impetus undæ.

In answer to the charge, I bear witness to posterity, that every part of it is false and forged. And I do solemnly protest, in the fear and presence of Him that shall judge us all, both the slanderers and the slandered, that I have not received any instructions, directions, orders, or let them call it what they will, of that kind, for the writing of any part of what I have written, or any materials for the putting together for the forming any book or pamphlet whatsoever, from the said earl of Oxford, late lord treasurer, or from any person by his order or direction, since the time that the late earl of Godolphin was lord treasurer. Neither did I ever show, or cause to be shown to his lordship, for his approbation, correction, alteration, or for any other

cause, any book, paper, or pamphlet which I have written and published, before the same was worked off at the press and published.

If any man living can detect me of the least prevarication in this, or in any part of it, I desire him to do it by all means; and I challenge all the world to do it. And if they cannot, then I appeal, as in my title, to the honour and justice of my worst enemies, to know upon what foundation of truth or conscience they can affirm these things, and for what it is that I bear these reproaches.

In all my writing, I ever capitulated for my liberty to speak according to my own judgment of things; I ever had that liberty allowed me, nor was I ever imposed upon to write this way or that against my judgment by any person whatsoever.

I come now historically to the point of time when my lord Godolphin was dismissed from his employment, and the late unhappy division broke out at court. I waited on my lord the day he was displaced, and humbly asked his lordship's direction what course I should take? His lordship's answer was, "that he had the same goodwill to assist me, but not the same power; that I was the queen's servant, and that all he had done for me was by her majesty's special and particular direction; and that whoever should succeed him, it was not material to me; he supposed I should be employed in nothing relating to the present differences. My business was to wait till I saw things settled, and then apply myself to the ministers of state, to receive her majesty's commands from them."

It occurred to me immediately, as a principle for my conduct, that it was not material to me what ministers her majesty was pleased to employ; my duty was to go along with every ministry, so far as they did not break in upon the constitution, and the

laws and liberties of my country ; my part being only the duty of a subject, viz., to submit to all lawful commands, and to enter into no service which was not justifiable by the laws ; to all which I have exactly obliged myself.

By this, I was providentially cast back upon my original benefactor, who, according to his wonted goodness, was pleased to lay my case before her majesty ; and thereby I preserved my interest in her majesty's favour, but without any engagement of service.

As for consideration, pension, gratification, or reward, I declare to all the world I have had none, except only that old appointment which her majesty was pleased to make me in the days of the ministry of my lord Godolphin ; of which I have spoken already, and which was for services done in a foreign country some years before. Neither have I been employed, directed, or ordered by my lord treasurer aforesaid to do, or not to do, anything in the affairs of the unhappy differences which have so long perplexed us, and for which I have so many, and such unjust reproaches.

I come next to enter into the matters of fact, and what it is I have done, or not done, which may justify the treatment I have met with ; and first, for the negative part, what I have not done.

The first thing in the unhappy breaches which have fallen out, is the heaping up scandal upon the persons and conduct of men of honour on one side as well as the other ; those unworthy methods of falling upon one another by personal calumny and reproach. This I have often in print complained of as unchristian, ungenerous, and unjustifiable practice. Not a word can be found in all I have written reflecting on the persons or conduct of any of the former ministry. I served her majesty under

their administration ; they acted honourably and justly in every transaction in which I had the honour to be concerned with them, and I never published or said anything dishonourable of any of them in my life ; nor can the worst enemy I have produce any such thing against me. I always regretted the change, and looked upon it as a great disaster to the nation in general, I am sure it was so to me in particular ; and the divisions and feuds among parties which followed that change were doubtless a disaster to us all.

The next thing that followed the change was the peace : no man can say that ever I once said in my life that I approved of the peace. I wrote a public paper at that time, and there it remains upon record against me. I printed it openly, and that so plainly as others durst not do, that I did not like the peace ; neither that which was made, nor that which was before making ; that I thought the protestant interest was not taken care of in either ; and that the peace I was for was such as should neither have given the Spanish monarchy to the house of Bourbon nor to the house of Austria, but that this bone of contention should have been broken to pieces, that it might not be dangerous to Europe ; and that the protestant powers, viz., Britain and the States, should have so strengthened and fortified their interest by their sharing the commerce and strength of Spain, as should have made them no more afraid of France or the emperor : so that the protestant interest should have been superior to all the powers of Europe, and been in no more danger of exorbitant powers whether French or Austrian. This was the peace I always argued for, pursuant to the design of king William in the Treaty of Partition, and pursuant to that article of the grand alliance which was directed by

the same glorious hand at the beginning of this last war, viz., that all we should conquer in the Spanish West Indies should be our own.

This was the true design, that England and Holland should have turned their naval power, which was eminently superior to that of France, to the conquest of the Spanish West Indies, by which the channel of trade and return of bullion, which now enriches the enemies of both, had been ours; and as the wealth, so the strength of the world had been in protestant hands. Spain, whoever had it, must then have been dependent upon us. The house of Bourbon would have found it so poor without us, as to be scarce worth fighting for: and the people so averse to them, for want of their commerce, as not to make it ever likely that France could keep it.

This was the foundation I ever acted upon with relation to the peace. It is true, that when it was made, and could not be otherwise, I thought our business was to make the best of it, and rather to inquire what improvements were to be made of it, than to be continually exclaiming at those who made it; and where the objection lies against this part, I cannot yet see.

While I spoke of things in this manner, I bore infinite reproaches from clamouring pens, of being in the French interest, being hired and bribed to defend a bad peace, and the like; and most of this was upon a supposition of my writing, or being the author of, abundance of pamphlets which came out every day, and which I had no hand in. And indeed, as I shall observe again by and by, this was one of the greatest pieces of injustice that could be done me, and which I labour still under without any redress; that whenever any piece comes out which is not liked, I am immediately charged with being the author; and very often the first know-

ledge I have had of a book being published, has been from seeing myself abused for being the author of it, in some other pamphlet published in answer to it.

Finding myself treated in this manner, I declined writing at all, and for a great part of a year never set pen to paper, except in the public paper called the Review. After this I was long absent in the north of England; and, observing the insolence of the jacobite party, and how they insinuated fine things into the heads of the common people, of the right and claim of the pretender, and of the great things he would do for us if he were to come in; of his being to turn a protestant, of his being resolved to maintain our liberties, support our friends, give liberty to dissenters, and the like; and finding that the people began to be deluded, and that the jacobites gained ground among them by these insinuations, I thought it the best service I could do the protestant interest, and the best way to open people's eyes of the protestant succession, if I took some course effectually to alarm the people with what they really ought to expect, if the pretender should come to be king. And this made me set pen to paper again.

And this brings me to the affirmative part, or to what really I have done; and in this, I am sorry to say, I have one of the foulest, most unjust, and unchristian clamours to complain of, that any man has suffered, I believe, since the days of the tyranny of king James II. The fact is thus:—

In order to detect the influence of jacobite emissaries, as above, the first thing I wrote was a small tract, called *A Seasonable Caution*; a book sincerely written to open the eyes of the poor, ignorant country people, and to warn them against the subtle insinuations of the emissaries of the pre-

tender; and that it might be effectual to that purpose, I prevailed with several of my friends to give them away among the poor people, all over England, especially in the north; and several thousands were actually given away, the price being reduced so low, that the bare expense of paper and press was only preserved, that every one might be convinced that nothing of gain was designed, but a sincere endeavour to do a public good, and assist to keep the people entirely in the interest of the protestant succession.

Next to this, and with the same sincere design, I wrote two pamphlets, one entituled, What if the Pretender should come? the other, Reasons against the Succession of the House of Hanover.

Nothing can be more plain than that the titles of these books were amusements, in order to put the books into the hands of those people whom the jacobites had deluded, and to bring them to be read by them.

Previous to what I shall further say of these books, I must observe that all these books met with so general a reception and approbation among those who were most sincere for the protestant succession, that they sent them all over the kingdom, and recommended them to the people as excellent and useful pieces; insomuch that about seven editions of them were printed, and they were reprinted in other places. And I do protest, had his present majesty, then elector of Hanover, given me a thousand pounds to have written for the interest of his succession, and to expose and render the interest of the pretender odious and ridiculous, I could have done nothing more effectual to those purposes than these books were.

And that I may make my worst enemies, to whom this is a fair appeal, judges of this, I must take leave, by and by, to repeat some of the expressions in

these books, which were direct and need no explanation, which I think no man that was in the interest of the pretender, nay, which no man but one who was entirely in the interest of the Hanover succession, could write.

Nothing can be severer in the fate of a man than to act so between two parties, that both sides should be provoked against him. It is certain, the jacobites cursed those tracts and the author, and when they came to read them, being deluded by the titles according to the design, they threw them by with the greatest indignation imaginable. Had the pretender ever come to the throne, I could have expected nothing but death, and all the ignominy and reproach that the most inveterate enemy of his person and claim could be supposed to suffer.

On the other hand, I leave it to any considering man to judge, what a surprise it must be to me to meet with all the public clamour that informers could invent, as being guilty of writing against the Hanover succession, and as having written several pamphlets in favour of the pretender.

No man in this nation ever had a more rivetted aversion to the pretender, and to all the family he pretended to come of, than I ; a man that had been in arms under the duke of Monmouth, against the cruelty and arbitrary government of his pretended father ; that for twenty years had to my utmost opposed him (king James) and his party after his abdication ; and had served king William to his satisfaction, and the friends of the revolution after his death, at all hazards and upon all occasions ; that had suffered and been ruined under the administration of high-fliers and jacobites, of whom some at this day counterfeit whigs. It could not be ! The nature of the thing could by no means allow it ; it must be monstrous ; and that the wonder may cease, I shall take

leave to quote some of the expressions out of these books, of which the worst enemy I have in the world is left to judge whether they are in favour of the pretender or no ; but of this in its place. For these books I was prosecuted, taken into custody, and obliged to give 800*l.* bail.

I do not in the least object here against, or design to reflect upon, the proceedings of the judges which were subsequent to this. I acknowledged then, and now acknowledge again, that upon the information given, there was a sufficient ground for all they did; and my unhappy entering upon my own vindication in print, while the case was before their lordships in a judicial way, was an error which I did not understand, and which I did not foresee; and therefore, although I had great reason to reflect upon the informers, yet I was wrong in making that defence in the manner and time I then made it; and which when I found, I made no scruple afterwards to petition the judges, and acknowledge they had just ground to resent it. Upon which petition and acknowledgment their lordships were pleased, with particular marks of goodness, to release me, and not to take the advantage of an error of ignorance, as if it had been considered and premeditated.

But against the informers I think I have great reason to complain; and against the injustice of those writers who, in many pamphlets, charged me with writing for the pretender, and the government with pardoning an author who wrote for the pretender. And, indeed, the justice of these men can be in nothing more clearly stated than in this case of mine; where the charge, in their printed papers and public discourse, was brought; not that they themselves believed me guilty of the crime, but because it was necessary to blacken the man, that a general reproach might serve for an answer to whatever he

should say that was not for their turn. So that it was the person, not the crime, they fell upon; and they may justly be said to persecute for the sake of persecution, as will thus appear.

This matter making some noise, people began to inquire into it, and ask what De Foe was prosecuted for, seeing the books were manifestly written against the pretender, and for the interest of the house of Hanover. And my friends expostulated freely with some of the men who appeared in it, who answered with more truth than honesty, that they knew this book had nothing in it, and that it was meant another way; but that De Foe had disobliged them in other things, and they were resolved to take the advantage they had, both to punish and expose him. They were no inconsiderable people who said this; and had the case come to a trial, I had provided good evidence to prove the words.

This is the christianity and justice by which I have been treated, and this in justice is the thing I complain of.

Now, as this was the plot of a few men to see if they could brand me in the world for a jacobite, and persuade rash and ignorant people that I was turned about for the pretender, I think they might as easily have proved me to be a mahometan; therefore, I say, this obliges me to state the matter as it really stands, that impartial men may judge whether those books were written for or against the pretender. And this cannot be better done than by the account of what followed after the information, which, in a few words, was this:—

Upon the several days appointed, I appeared at the Queen's Bench bar to discharge my bail; and at last had an indictment for high crimes and misdemeanors exhibited against me by her majesty's

attorney-general, which, as I was informed, contained two hundred sheets of paper.

What was the substance of the indictment I shall not mention here, neither could I enter upon it, having never seen the particulars; but I was told that I should be brought to trial the very next term.

I was not ignorant that in such cases it is easy to make any book a libel, and that the jury must have found the matter of fact in the indictment, viz., that I had written such books, and then what might have followed I knew not. Wherefore, I thought it was my only way to cast myself on the clemency of her majesty, of whose goodness I had so much experience many ways; representing in my petition, that I was far from the least intention to favour the interest of the pretender, but that the books were all written with a sincere design to promote the interest of the house of Hanover; and humbly laid before her majesty, as I do now before the rest of the world, the books themselves to plead in my behalf; representing further, that I was maliciously informed against by those who were willing to put a construction upon the expressions different from my true meaning; and therefore, flying to her majesty's goodness and clemency, I entreated her gracious pardon.

It was not only the native disposition of her majesty to acts of clemency and goodness that obtained me this pardon; but, as I was informed, her majesty was pleased to express it in the council, "She saw nothing but private pique in the first prosecution." And therefore I think I cannot give a better and clearer vindication of myself, than what is contained in the preamble to the pardon which her majesty was pleased to grant me; and I must be allowed to say to those who are still willing to

object, that I think what satisfied her majesty might be sufficient to satisfy them ; and I can assure them that this pardon was not granted without her majesty's being specially and particularly acquainted with the things alleged in the petition, the books also being looked into, to find the expressions quoted in the petition. The preamble to the patent for a pardon, as far as relates to the matters of fact, runs thus:—

“Whereas, in the term of the Holy Trinity last past, our attorney-general did exhibit an information, in our court of Queen's Bench at Westminster, against Daniel De Foe, late of London, gent., for writing, printing, and publishing, and causing to be written, printed, and published, three libels, the one entituled, Reasons against the Succession of the House of Hanover ; with an Inquiry how far the Abdication of King James, supposing it to be legal, ought to affect the person of the Pretender. One other, entituled, And what if the Pretender should come ? or, Some Considerations of the Advantages and real Consequences of the Pretender's possessing the Crown of Great Britain. And one other, entituled, An Answer to a Question that nobody thinks of, viz., What if the Queen should die ?

“And whereas the said Daniel De Foe hath by his humble petition represented to us, that he, with a sincere design to propagate the interest of the Hanover succession, and to animate the people against the designs of the pretender, whom he always looked on as an enemy to our sacred person and government, did publish the said pamphlets : in all which books, although the titles seemed to look as if written in favour of the pretender, and several expressions, as in all ironical writing it must be, may be wrested against the true design of the whole, and turned to a meaning quite different from

the intention of the author, yet the petitioner humbly assures us, in the solemnest manner, that his true and only design in all the said books was, by an ironical discourse of recommending the pretender, in the strongest and most forcible manner to expose his designs, and the ruinous consequences of his succeeding therein ; which, as the petitioner humbly represents, will appear to our satisfaction by the books themselves, where the following expressions are very plain : viz. ; ‘ That the pretender is recommended as a person proper to amass the English liberties into his own sovereignty ; supply them with the privilege of wearing wooden shoes ; easing them of the trouble of choosing parliaments ; and the nobility and gentry of the hazard and expense of winter journeys, by governing them in that more righteous method, of his absolute will, and enforcing the laws by a glorious standing army ; paying all the nation’s debts at once by stopping the funds and shutting up the exchequer ; easing and quieting their differences in religion, by bringing them to the union of popery, or leaving them at liberty to have no religion at all.’ that these were some of the very expressions in the said books, which the petitioner sincerely designed to expose and oppose, and as far as in him lies, the interest of the pretender, and with no other intention ; nevertheless, the petitioner, to his great surprise, has been misrepresented, and his said books misconstrued, as if written in favour of the pretender ; and the petitioner is now under prosecution for the same ; which prosecution, if further carried on, will be the utter ruin of the petitioner and his family. Wherefore, the petitioner, humbly assuring us of the innocence of his design as aforesaid, flies to our clemency, and most humbly prays our most gracious and free pardon.

“ We, taking the premises and the circumstances

of the petitioner into our royal consideration, are graciously pleased to extend our royal mercy to the petitioner. Our will and pleasure therefore is, that you prepare a bill for our royal signature, to pass our great seal, containing our gracious and free pardon unto him, the said Daniel De Foe, of the offences aforementioned, and of all indictments, convictions, pains, penalties, and forfeitures incurred thereby; and you are to insert therein all such apt beneficial clauses as you shall deem requisite to make this our intended pardon more full, valid, and effectual; and for so doing, this shall be your warrant. Given at our castle at Windsor, the twentieth day of November, 1713, in the twentieth year of our reign. By her majesty's command.

BOLINGBROKE.

Let any indifferent man judge whether I was not treated with particular malice in this matter; who was, notwithstanding this, reproached in the daily public prints with having written treasonable books in behalf of the pretender; nay, and in some of those books, as before, the queen herself was reproached with having granted her pardon to an author who writ for the pretender.

I think I might with much more justice say, I was the first man that ever was obliged to seek a pardon for writing for the Hanover succession, and the first man that these people ever sought to ruin for writing against the pretender. For, if ever a book was sincerely designed to further and propagate the affection and zeal of the nation against the pretender, nay, and was made use of, and that with success too, for that purpose, these books were so; and I ask no more favour of the world to determine the opinion of honest men for or against me, than what is drawn constructively from these books.

Let one word, either written or spoken by me, either published or not published, be produced, that was in the least disrespectful to the protestant succession, or to any branch of the family of Hanover, or that can be judged to be favourable to the interest or person of the pretender, and I will be willing to waive her majesty's pardon, and render myself to public justice, to be punished for it, as I should well deserve.

I freely and openly challenge the worst of my enemies to charge me with any discourse, conversation, or behaviour, in my whole life, which had the least word in it injurious to the protestant succession, unbecoming or disrespectful to any of the persons of the royal family of Hanover, or the least favourable word of the persons, the designs, or friends of the pretender. If they can do it, let them stand forth and speak; no doubt but that they may be heard; and I, for my part, will relinquish all pleas, pardons, and defences, and cast myself into the hands of justice. Nay, to go further, I defy them to prove that I ever kept company, or had any society, friendship, or conversation, with any jacobite. So averse have I been to the interest and the people, that I have studiously avoided their company on all occasions.

As nothing in the world has been more my aversion than the society of jacobites, so nothing can be a greater misfortune to me than to be accused and publicly reproached with what is, of all things in the world, most abhorred by me; and that which has made it the more afflicting is, that this charge arises from those very things which I did with the sincerest design to manifest the contrary.

But such is my present fate, and I am to submit to it; which I do with meekness and calmness, as to a judgment from heaven, and am practising that

duty which I have studied long ago, of forgiving my enemies, and praying for them that despitefully use me.

Having given this brief history of the pardon, &c., I hope the impartial part of the world will grant me, that being thus graciously delivered a second time from the cruelty of my implacable enemies, and the ruin of a cruel and unjust persecution, and that by the mere clemency and goodness, my obligation to her majesty's goodness was far from being made less than it was before.

I have now run through the history of my obligation to her majesty, and to the person of my benefactor aforesaid. I shall state everything that followed this with all the clearness I can, and leave myself liable to as little cavil as I may; for I see myself assaulted by a sort of people who will do me no justice. I hear a great noise made of punishing those that are guilty, but, as I said before, not one word of clearing those that are innocent; and I must say, in this part they treat me, not only as I were no Christian, but as if they themselves were not Christians. They will neither prove the charge nor hear the defence, which is the unjustest thing in the world.

I foresee what will be alleged to the clause of my obligation, &c., to great persons, and I resolve to give my adversaries all the advantage they can desire by acknowledging beforehand, that no obligation to the queen, or to any benefactor, can justify any man's acting against the interest of his country, against his principles, his conscience, and his former profession.

I think this will anticipate all that can be said upon that head, and it will then remain to tell the fact, as I am not chargeable with it; which I shall do as clearly as possible in a few words.

It is none of my work to enter into the conduct of the queen or of the ministry in this case; the question is not what they have done, but what I have done; and though I am very far from thinking of them as some other people think, yet, for the sake of the present argument, I am to give them all up, and suppose, though not granting, that all which is suggested of them by the worst temper, the most censorious writer, the most scandalous pamphlet or lampoon should be true; and I'll go through some of the particulars, as I meet with them in public.

1st. That they made a scandalous peace, unjustly broke the alliance, betrayed the confederates, and sold us all to the French.

God forbid it should be all truth, in the manner that we see it in print; but that I say is none of my business. But what hand had I in all this? I never wrote one word for the peace before it was made, or to justify it after it was made; let them produce it if they can. Nay, in a Review upon that subject while it was making, I printed it in plainer words than other men durst speak it at that time, that I did not like the peace, nor did I like any peace that was making since that of the partition, and that the protestant interest was not taken care of either in that or the treaty of Gertrudenburg before it.

It is true that I did say, that since the peace was made, and we could not help it, that it was our business and our duty to make the best of it, to make the utmost advantage of it by commerce, navigation, and all kind of improvement that we could, and this I say still; and I must think it is more our duty to do so than the exclamations against the thing itself, which it is not in our power to retrieve. This is all that the worst enemy I have can charge me with. After the peace was made, and the Dutch and the emperor stood out, I gave my opinion of what I fore-

saw would necessarily be the consequence of that difference, viz., that it would inevitably involve these nations in a war with one or other of them; any one who was master of common sense in the public affairs might see that the standing out of the Dutch could have no other event. For if the confederates had conquered the French, they would certainly have fallen upon us by way of resentment, and there was no doubt but the same councils that led us to make a peace would oblige us to maintain it, by preventing too great impressions upon the French.

On the other hand, I alleged, that should the French prevail against the Dutch, unless he stopped at such limitations of conquest as the treaty obliged him to do, we must have been under the same necessity to renew the war against France; and for this reason, seeing we had made a peace, we were obliged to bring the rest of the confederates into it, and to bring the French to give them all such terms as they ought to be satisfied with.

This way of arguing was either so little understood, or so much maligned, that I suffered innumerable reproaches in print for having written for a war with the Dutch, which was neither in the expression, nor ever in my imagination; but I pass by these injuries as small and trifling compared to others I suffer under.

However, one thing I must say of the peace, let it be good or ill in itself, I cannot but think we have all reason to rejoice in behalf of his present majesty, that at his accession to the crown he found the nation in peace, and had the hands of the king of France tied up by a peace so as not to be able, without the most infamous breach of articles, to offer the least disturbance to his taking a quiet and leisurely

possession, or so much as to countenance those that would.

Not but that I believe, if the war had been at the height, we should have been able to have preserved the crown for his present majesty, its only rightful lord ; but I will not say it should have been so easy, so bloodless, so undisputed as now ; and all the difference must be acknowledged to the peace, and this is all the good I ever yet said of it.

I come next to the general clamour of the ministry being for the pretender. I must speak my sentiments solemnly and plainly, as I always did in that matter, viz., that if it was so, I did not see it, nor did I ever see reason to believe it ; this I am sure of, that if it was so, I never took one step in that kind of service, nor did I ever hear one word spoken by any one of the ministry that I had the honour to know or converse with, that favoured the pretender ; but have had the honour to hear them all protest that there was no design to oppose the succession of Hanover in the least.

It may be objected to me, that they might be in the interest of the pretender for all that ; it is true they might, but that is nothing to me. I am not vindicating their conduct, but my own ; as I never was employed in anything that way, so I do still protest I do not believe it was ever in their design, and I have many reasons to confirm my thoughts in that case, which are not material to the present case. But be that as it will, it is enough to me that I acted nothing in any such interest, neither did I ever sin against the protestant succession of Hanover in thought, word, or deed ; and if the ministry did, I did not see it, or so much as suspect them of it.

It was a disaster to the ministry, to be driven to the necessity of taking that set of men by the hand,

who nobody can deny, were in that interest; but as the former ministry answered, when they were charged with a design to overthrow the church, because they favoured, joined with, and were united to the dissenters; I say they answered, that they made use of the dissenters, but granted them nothing (which, by the way, was too true;) so these gentlemen answer, that it is true they made use of jacobites, but did nothing for them.

But this by the by. Necessity is pleaded by both parties for doing things which neither side can justify. I wish both sides would for ever avoid the necessity of doing evil; for certainly it is the worst plea in the world, and generally made use of for the worst things.

I have often lamented the disaster which I saw employing jacobites was to the late ministry, and certainly it gave the greatest handle to the enemies of the ministry to fix that universal reproach upon them of being in the interest of the pretender. But there was no medium. The whigs refused to show them a safe retreat, or to give them the least opportunity to take any other measures, but at the risk of their own destruction; and they ventured upon that course in hopes of being able to stand alone at last without help of either the one or the other; in which they were no doubt, mistaken.

However, in this part, as I was always assured, and have good reason still to believe, that her majesty was steady in the interest of the house of Hanover, and as nothing was ever offered to me, or required of me, to the prejudice of that interest, on what ground can I be reproached with the secret reserved designs of any, if they had such designs, as I still verily believe they had not?

I see there are some men who would fain persuade the world, that every man that was in the interest of

the late ministry, or employed by the late government, or that served the late queen, was for the pretender.

God forbid this should be true; and I think there needs very little to be said in answer to it. I can answer for myself, that it is notoriously false; and I think the easy and uninterrupted accession of his majesty to the crown contradicts it. I see no end which such a suggestion aims at, but to leave an odium upon all that had any duty or regard to her late majesty.

A subject is not always master of his sovereign's measures, nor always to examine what persons or parties the prince he serves employs, so be it that they break not in upon the constitution; that they govern according to law, and that he is employed in no illegal act, or have nothing desired of him inconsistent with the liberties and laws of his country. If this be not right, then a servant of the king's is in a worse case than a servant to any private person.

In all these things I have not erred; neither have I acted or done anything in the whole course of my life, either in the service of her majesty or of her ministry, that any one can say has the least deviation from the strictest regard to the protestant succession, and to the laws and liberties of my country.

I never saw an arbitrary action offered at, a law dispensed with, justice denied, or oppression set up, either by queen or ministry, in any branch of the administration, wherein I had the least concern.

If I have sinned against the whigs, it has been all negatively, viz., that I have not joined in the loud exclamations against the queen and against the ministry, and against their measures; and if this be my crime, my plea is twofold.

1. I did not really see cause for carrying their complaints to that violent degree.

2. Where I did see what, as before, I lamented and was sorry for, and could not join with or approve,—as joining with jacobites, the peace, &c.,—my obligation is my plea for my silence.

I have all the good thoughts of the person, and good wishes for the prosperity of my benefactor, that charity and that gratitude can inspire me with. I ever believed him to have the true interest of the protestant religion and of his country in his view; and if it should be otherwise, I should be very sorry. And I must repeat it again, that he always left me so entirely to my own judgment, in everything I did, that he never prescribed to me what I should write, or should not write, in my life; neither did he ever concern himself to dictate to or restrain me in any kind; nor did he see any one tract that I ever wrote before it was printed; so that all the notion of my writing by his direction is as much a slander upon him as it is possible anything of that kind can be; and if I have written anything which is offensive, unjust, or untrue, I must do that justice as to declare, he has no hand in it; the crime is my own.

As the reproach of his directing me to write is a slander upon the person I am speaking of, so that of my receiving pensions and payments from him for writing, is a slander upon me; and I speak it with the greatest sincerity, seriousness, and solemnity that it is possible for a Christian man to speak, that except the appointment I mentioned before, which her majesty was pleased to make me formerly, and which I received during the time of my lord Godolphin's ministry, I have not received of the late lord treasurer, or of any one else by his order, knowledge, or direction, one farthing, or the value of a farthing, during his whole administration; nor has all the interest I have been supposed to have in his lord-

ship been able to procure me the arrears due to me in the time of the other ministry. So help me God.

I am under no necessity of making this declaration. The services I did, and for which her majesty was pleased to make me a small allowance, are known to the greatest men in the present administration; and some of them were then of the opinion, and I hope are so still, that I was not unworthy of her majesty's favour. The effect of those services, however small, is enjoyed by those great persons and by the whole nation to this day; and I had the honour once to be told, that they should never be forgotten. It is a misfortune that no man can avoid, to forfeit for his deference to the person and services of his queen, to whom he was inexpressibly obliged; and if I am fallen under the displeasure of the present government for anything I ever did in obedience to her majesty in the past, I may say it is my disaster; but I can never say it is my fault.

This brings me again to that other oppression which, as I said, I suffer under, and which, I think, is of a kind that no man ever suffered under so much as myself; and this is to have every libel, every pamphlet, be it ever so foolish, so malicious, so unmannerly, or so dangerous, be laid at my door, and be called publicly by my name. It has been in vain for me to struggle with this injury; it has been in vain for me to protest, to declare solemnly, nay, if I would have sworn that I had no hand in such a book or paper, never saw it, never read it, and the like, it was the same thing.

My name has been hackneyed about the street by the hawkers, and about the coffeehouses by the politicians, at such a rate as no patience could bear. One man will swear to the style; another to this

or that expression ; another to the way of printing : and all so positive that it is to no purpose to oppose it.

I published once, to stop this way of using me, that I would print nothing but what I set my name to, and held it for a year or two ; but it was all one ; I had the same treatment. I now have resolved for some time to write nothing at all, and yet I find it the same thing ; two books lately published being called mine, for no other reason that I know of than that at the request of the printer, I revised two sheets of them at the press, and that they seemed to be written in favour of a certain person ; which person, also, as I have been assured, had no hand in them, or any knowledge of them, till they were published in print.

• This is a flail which I have no fence against, but to complain of the injustice of it, and that is but *the shortest way* to be treated with more injustice.

There is a mighty charge against me for being author and publisher of a paper called the ‘Mercator.’ I will state the fact first, and then speak to the subject.

It is true, that being desired to give my opinion in the affair of the commerce with France, I did, as I often had done in print many years before, declare that it was my opinion we ought to have an open trade with France, because I did believe we might have the advantage by such a trade ; and of this opinion I am still. What part I had in the Mercator is well known ; and could men answer with argument, and not with personal abuse, I would at any time defend every part of the Mercator which was of my doing. But to say the Mercator was mine, is false ; I neither was the author of it, had the property of it, the printing of it, or the profit by it. I had never any payment or reward for writing

any part of it, nor had I the power to put what I would into it. Yet the whole clamour fell upon me, because they knew not who else to load with it. And when they came to answer, the method was instead of argument, to threaten and reflect upon me, reproach me with private circumstances and misfortunes, and give language which no Christian ought to give, and which no gentleman ought to take.

I thought any Englishman had the liberty to speak his opinion in such things, for this had nothing to do with the public. The press was open to me as well as to others; and how or when I lost my English liberty of speaking my mind, I know not; neither how my speaking my opinion without fee or reward, could authorise them to call me villain, rascal, traitor, and such opprobrious names.

It was ever my opinion, and is so still, that were our wool kept from France, and our manufactures spread in France upon reasonable duties, all the improvements which the French have made in the woollen manufactures would decay, and in the end be little worth; and consequently, the hurt they could do us by them would be of little moment.

It was my opinion, and is so still, that the ninth article of the treaty of commerce was calculated for the advantage of our trade, let who will make it. That is nothing to me. My reasons are because it tied up the French to open the door to our manufactures at a certain duty of importation there, and left the parliament of Britain at liberty to shut theirs out by as high duties as they pleased here, there being no limitation upon us as to duties on French goods; but that other nations should pay the same.

While the French were thus bound, and the British free, I always thought we must be in a condition to trade to advantage, or it must be our own

fault. This was my opinion, and is so still ; and I would venture to maintain it against any man upon a public stage, before a jury of fifty merchants, and venture my life upon the cause, if I were assured of fair play in the dispute. But that it was my opinion that we might carry on a trade with France to our great advantage, and that we ought for that reason to trade with them, appears in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes of the Review, above nine years before the Mercator was thought of. It was not thought criminal to say so then ; how it come to be villanous to say so now, God knows ; I can give no account of it. I am still of the same opinion, and shall never be brought to say otherwise, unless I see the state of trade so altered as to alter my opinion ; and if ever I do I shall be able to give good reasons for it.

The answer to these things, whether mine or no, was all pointed at me, and the arguments were generally in the terms villain, rascal, miscreant, liar, bankrupt, fellow, hireling, turncoat, &c. What the arguments were bettered by these methods, I leave others to judge of. Also, most of those things in the Mercator, for which I had such usage, were such as I was not the author of.

I do grant, had all the books which had been called by my name been written by me, I must of necessity have exasperated every side ; and perhaps have deserved it ; but I have the greatest injustice imaginable in this treatment, as I have in the perverting the design of what I have really written.

To sum up, therefore, my complaint in a few words :—

I was, from my first entering into the knowledge of public matters, and have ever been to this day, a sincere lover of the constitution of my country ; zealous for liberty and the protestant interest ; but

a constant follower of moderate principles, a vigorous opposer of hot measures in all parties. I never once changed my opinion, my principles, or my party: and let what will be said of changing sides, this I maintain, that I never once deviated from the revolution principles, nor from the doctrine of liberty and property on which it was founded.

I own I could never be convinced of the great danger of the pretender in the time of the late ministry, nor can I be now convinced of the great danger of the church under this ministry. I believe the cry of the one was politically made use of then to serve other designs, and I plainly see the like use made of the other now. I spoke my mind freely then, and I have done the like now, in a small tract to that purpose not yet made public; and which if I live to publish I will publicly own, as I purpose to do everything I write, that my friends may know when I am abused, and they imposed on.

It has been the disaster of all parties in this nation to be very hot in their turn; and as often as they have been so I have differed with them, and ever must and shall do so. I will repeat some of the occasions on the whigs' side, because from that quarter the accusation of my turning about comes.

The first time I had the misfortune to differ with my friends was about the year 1683, when the Turks were besieging Vienna, and the whigs in England, generally speaking, were for the Turks taking it, which I, having read the history of the cruelty and perfidious dealings of the Turks in their wars, and how they had rooted out the name of the Christian religion in above threescore and ten kingdoms, could by no means agree with. And

though then but a young man, and a younger author, I opposed it, and wrote against it, which was taken very unkindly indeed.

The next time I differed with my friends was when king James was wheedling the dissenters to take off the penal laws and test, which I could by no means come into. And, as in the first, I used to say, I had rather the popish house of Austria should ruin the protestants in Hungaria, than the infidel house of Ottoman should ruin both protestants and papists by overrunning Germany; so, in the other, I told the dissenters I had rather the church of England should pull our clothes off by fines and forfeitures, than the papists should fall both upon the church and the dissenters, and pull our skins off by fire and fagot.

The next difference I had with good men was about the scandalous practice of occasional conformity, in which I had the misfortune to make many honest men angry, rather because I had the better of the argument, than because they disliked what I said.

And now I have lived to see the dissenters themselves very quiet, if not very well pleased with an act of parliament to prevent it. Their friends indeed laid it on; they would be friends indeed if they would talk of taking it off again.

Again, I had a breach with honest men for their maltreating king William; of which I say nothing, because I think they are now opening their eyes, and making what amends they can to his memory.

The fifth difference I had with them was about the treaty of Partition, in which many honest men are mistaken, and in which I told them plainly then that they would at last end the war upon worse terms; and so it is my opinion they would have

done, though the treaty of Gertrudenburg had taken place.

The sixth time I differed with them was when the old whigs fell upon the modern whigs, and when the duke of Marlborough and my lord Godolphin were used by the Observator in a manner worse, I must confess, for the time it lasted, than ever they were used since ; nay, though it were by Abel and the Examiner ; but the success failed. In this dispute my lord Godolphin did me the honour to tell me, I had served him and his grace also both faithfully and successfully. But his lordship is dead, and I have now no testimony of it but what is to be found in the Observator, where I am plentifully abused for being an enemy to my country, by acting in the interest of my lord Godolphin and the duke of Marlborough. What weathercock can turn with such tempers as these !

I am now on the seventh breach with them, and my crime now is, that I will not believe and say the same things of the queen and the late treasurer which I could not believe before of my lord Godolphin and the duke of Marlborough, and which in truth I cannot believe, and therefore could not say it of either of them ; and which, if I had believed, yet I ought not to have been the man that should have said it for the reasons aforesaid.

In such turns of tempers and times, a man must be tenfold a vicar of Bray, or it is impossible but he must one time or other be out with everybody. This is my present condition, and for this I am reviled with having abandoned my principles, turned jacobite, and what not. God judge between me and these men. Would they come to any particulars with me, what real guilt I may have I would freely acknowledge ; and if they would pro-

duce any evidence of the bribes, the pensions, and the rewards I have taken, I would declare honestly whether they were true or no. If they would give a list of the books which they charge me with, and the reasons why they lay them at my door, I would acknowledge my mistake, own what I have done, and let them know what I have not done. But these men neither show mercy, nor leave place for repentance; in which they act not only unlike their master, but contrary to his express commands.

It is true, good men have been used thus in former times; and all the comfort I have is, that these men have not the last judgment in their hands: if they had, dreadful would be the case of those who oppose them. But that day will show many men and things also in a different state from what they may now appear in. Some that now appear clear and fair will then be seen to be black and foul, and some that are now thought black and foul will then be approved and accepted; and thither I cheerfully appeal, concluding this part in the words of the prophet, *I heard the defaming of many; fear on every side; report, say they, and we will report it; all my familiars watched for my halting, saying, peradventure he will be enticed, and we shall prevail against him, and we shall take our revenge on him.* Jer. xx. 10.

Mr. Poole's Annotations has the following remarks on these lines; which, I think, are so much to that part of my case which is to follow, that I do not omit them. The words are these:—

“The prophet,” says he, “here rendereth a reason why he thought of giving over his work as a prophet; his ears were continually filled with the obloquies and reproaches of such as reproached him; and besides, he was afraid on all hands, there

were so many traps laid for him, so many devices devised against him. They did not only take advantage against him, but sought advantages, and invited others to raise stories of him; not only strangers, but those that he might have expected the greatest kindness from; those that pretended most courteously; 'They watch,' says he, 'for opportunities to do me justice, and lay in wait for my halting, desiring nothing more than that I might be enticed to speak, or do something which they might find matter of a colourable accusation, that so they might satisfy their malice upon me.' This hath always been the genius of wicked men. Job and David both made complaints much like this." These are Mr. Poole's words.

And this leads me to several particulars, in which my case may, without any arrogance, be likened to that of the sacred prophet, excepting the vast disparity of the persons.

No sooner was the queen dead, and the king, as right required, proclaimed, but the rage of men increased upon me to that degree, that the threats and insults I received were such as I am not able to express. If I offered to say a word in favour of the present settlement, it was called fawning, and turning round again; on the other hand, though I have meddled neither one way nor the other, nor written one book since the queen's death, yet a great many things are called by my name, and I bear every day the reproaches which all the answerers of those books cast, as well upon the subjects as the authors. I have not seen or spoken to my lord of Oxford but once since the king's landing, nor received the least message, order, or writing from his lordship, or any other way corresponded with him, yet he bears the reproach of my writing in his defence, and I the

rage of men for doing it. I cannot say it is no affliction to me to be thus used, though my being entirely clear of the facts is a true support to me.

I am unconcerned at the rage and clamour of party men; but I cannot be unconcerned to hear men, who I think are good men and good Christians, prepossessed and mistaken about me. However, I cannot doubt but some time or other it will please God to open such men's eyes. A constant, steady adhering to personal virtue and to public peace, which, I thank God, I can appeal to him has always been my practice, will at last restore me to the opinion of sober and impartial men, and that is all I desire. What it will do with those who are resolutely partial and unjust, I cannot say, neither is that much my concern. But I cannot forbear giving one example of the hard treatment I receive, which has happened even while I am writing this tract. I have six children; I have educated them as well as my circumstances will permit, and so as I hope shall recommend them to better usage than their father meets with in this world.

I am not indebted one shilling in the world for any part of their education, or for anything else belonging to their bringing up; yet the author of the Flying Post published lately that I never paid for the education of any of my children. If any man in Britain has a shilling to demand of me for any part of their education, or anything belonging to them, let them come for it.

But these men care not what injurious things they write, nor what they say, whether truth or not, if it may but raise a reproach on me, though it were to be my ruin. I may well appeal to the honour and justice of my worst enemies in such cases as this:

Conscia mens recti fama mendacia ridet.

CONCLUSION BY THE PUBLISHER.

WHILE this was at the press, and the copy thus far finished, the author was seized with a violent fit of an apoplexy, whereby he was disabled finishing what he designed in his further defence; and continuing now for above six weeks in a weak and languishing condition, neither able to go on nor likely to recover, at least in any short time, his friends thought it not fit to delay the publication of this any longer. If he recovers he may be able to finish what he began; if not, it is the opinion of most that know him that the treatment which he here complains of, and some others that he would have spoken of, have been the apparent cause of his disaster.

A Seasonable
W A R N I N G
And CAUTION
Against the
INSINUATIONS
Of *Papists* and *Jacobites*
In Favour of the
P R E T E N D E R.

Being a LETTER from an *ENGLISH-MAN* at the Court of *HANOVER*.

*And thou shalt teach these Words diligently
unto thy Children, and shalt talk of them
when thou sittest in thy House, and when
thou walkest by the Way.* Deut. vi. 9.

And what thou seest write in a Book. Rev. i. 11.

L O N D O N: Printed for *J. Baker*, at the
Black-Boy in *Pater-Noster-Row*. 1712.

A SEASONABLE WARNING AND CAUTION

AGAINST THE
INSINUATIONS OF PAPISTS AND JACOBITES
IN FAVOUR OF THE PRETENDER.

WHY how now, England! what ailest thee now? What evil spirit now possesseth thee! O thou nation famous for espousing religion, and defending liberty; eminent in all ages for pulling down tyrants^a, and adhering steadily to the fundamentals of thy own constitution^b: that has not only secured thy own rights, and handed them down unimpaired to every succeeding age, but has been the sanctuary of other oppressed nations^c; the strong protector of injured subjects against the lawless invasion of oppressing tyrants.

To thee the oppressed protestants of France owed, for some ages ago, the comfort of being pow-

^a Edward II. Richard II. Richard III. James II.

^b In the several barons' wars in the reign of king Stephen, king John, &c.

^c Especially of the persecuted protestants in the Low Countries, in queen Elizabeth.

erfully supported, while their own king^d, wheedled by the lustre of a crown, became apostate, and laid the foundation of their ruin among themselves; in thee their posterity^e find a refuge, and flourish in thy wealth and trade, when religion and liberty find no more place in their own country.

To thee the distressed Belgii^f owe the powerful assistance by which they took up arms in defence of liberty and religion, against Spanish cruelty, the perfidious tyranny of their kings, and the rage of the bloody duke d'Alva.

From thee the confederate Hollanders^g received encouragement to join in that indissoluble union which has since reduced the invincible power of the Spaniards, and from whence has been raised the most flourishing commonwealth in the world.

By thy assistance they are become the bulwark of the protestant religion, and of the liberties of Europe; and have many times since gratefully employed that force in thy behalf; and, by their help, thou, who first gavest them liberty, hast more than once rescued and preserved thy own.

To thee the present protestant nations^h of Europe owe their being at this day freed from the just apprehensions of the growing greatness of

^d Henry IV., who turned papist, and with much difficulty granted liberty to his protestant subjects by the edict of Nantes.

^e The French refugees, who being received here, are grown rich and wealthy by our trade.

^f The Flemings, when threatened with the inquisition from Spain, under the reign of Philip II.

^g Under William Henry, the first prince of Orange, who formed the revolt of the Dutch provinces, and laid the foundation of the States General and their commonwealth.

^h The circles of Swabia and Franconia, the Palatinate, and the countries of Hessa, Wirtemberg, and others.

France ; and to thy power, when acting by the glorious protector of thy liberty, king William, is the whole Christian world indebted for depriving the French tyrant of the hopes and prospect of universal monarchy.

To thy blood, thy treasure, the conduct of thy generals, and the vigour of thy councils, are due, the glory, the fame, the praises, and the advantages of twenty years' war, for the establishing and restoring the liberty and religion of Europe.

When posterity shall inquire into the particulars of this long and bloody war ; the battles, sieges, and stupendous marches of armies, which, as well with loss as with victory, have been the subject of thy history ; it will for ever be frequent in their mouths ; HERE the British troops, fighting with dreadful fury, and their usual constancy, shed their blood in defence of the protestant cause, and left a bloody victory to God's enemies and their own ; as at Steenkirk, Landen, Camaret, Almanza, Brihenga, and the like : or, HERE the British troops, with their usual valour, carried all before them, and conquered in behalf of the protestant interest, and Europe's liberties ; as at Blenheim, Ramilies, Barcelona, Oudenard, Sarragossa, Blaregnies, &c. Here the British navies triumphed over French greatness ; as at Cherburgh, La Hogue, Gibraltar, &c. There their land forces reduced the most impregnable fortresses ; as at Namur, Lisle, Menin, Tournay, &c.

And wherefore has all this English and British blood been spilt ? Wherefore thy nation exhausted ; thy trade sunk and interrupted ; thy veins opened ? Why hast thou struggled thus long, and with so much vigour, as well with French tyranny abroad, as popish factions at home, but to preserve entire the religion and liberties of Europe,

and particularly of this nation, and to preserve our posterity from slavery and idolatry? Principles truly noble, worthy a nation's blood to protect, and worthy a nation's treasure to save.

But what has all this been for? And to what intent and purpose was all this zeal, if you will sink under the ruin of the very fabric ye have pulled down? If ye will give up the cause after ye have gained the advantage, and yield yourselves up after you have been delivered; to what purpose then has all this been done? Why all the money expended? Why all this blood spilt? To what end is France said to be reduced, and peace now concluded, if the same popery, the same tyranny, the same arbitrary methods of government shall be received among you again? Sure your posterity will stand amazed to consider how lavish this age has been of their money, and their blood, and to how little purpose; since no age since the creation of the world can show us a time when ever any nation spent so much blood and treasure to end just where they begun: as, if the arts of our enemies prevail, we are like to do.

Let us reason a little together on these things, and let us inquire a little, why, and for what reason Britain, so lately the glory of Europe; so lately the terror of France, the bulwark of religion, and the destroyer of popery, should be brought to be the gazing-stock of the world? And why is it that her neighbours expect every hour to hear that she is going back to Egypt, and having given up her liberty, has made it her own choice to submit to the stripes of her taskmasters, and make bricks without straw.

We that are Englishmen, and live from home among the protestants of other nations, cannot but be sensible of this alteration, and we bear the re-

proaches of those who speak freely of the unhappy change which appears in the temper of our countrymen at home. It is astonishing to all the world to hear that the common people of England should be turned from the most rivetted aversions, to a coldness and indifferency in matters of popery and the pretender : that they, who with so unanimous a resolution deposed the late king James, as well for his invasions of their liberty as of their religion ; and who with such marks of contempt drove him and his pretended progeny out of the nation, should, without any visible alteration of circumstances, be drawn in to favour the return of that race with all the certain additions of popish principles in religion ; French principles in government ; revenge for family injuries ; restoration of abdicated and impoverished votaries ; and the certain support of a party at home, whose fortunes and losses must be restored and repaired out of the ruins of their country's liberties.

To what purpose was the revolution ? Why did you mock yourselves at so vast an expense ? Why did you cry in your oppressions to God and the prince of Orange to deliver you ? Why did you rise as one man against king James and his popish adherents ? Why was your fury so great, and your opposition so universal, that although he had a good army of veteran, disciplined troops, and a powerful assistance from France ready to fall in and join him, yet they durst not, when put all together, venture to look you in the face, but fled like darkness before the sun, like guilt before the sword of justice ; or as a murderer from the avenger of blood ? Was it all, that you might the better weaken yourselves by ages of war, and they might return again, and bind you, like Samson, when your strength was departed ?

When this was done, why did ye mock God with a thanksgivingⁱ, and banter the world with your pretended praises to heaven for your deliverance? Why, when you appeared by your representatives in convention and in parliament, did you make so many fast-days^k, and days of prayer for the success of the arms you took up, and the war you carried on for the finishing and securing this great work, called the pulling down of popery? Was it all, that after having spent twenty years of war, and a sea of blood, ruined trade, exhausted your treasure, and entailed vast debts on your posterity; you should calmly open your doors to the fugitives you had found out, and let in again the popish tyranny you had driven away?

For what reason was it that you presented the crown to your benefactor, called him your deliverer, and made him your king; and having done so, maintained him upon the throne with so much vigour, fought under his banner in so many battles, and with so great animosity, and professed to stand by him against all his enemies at home and abroad? Why is he in so many addresses^l styled the rescuer of this nation from popery and slavery? Why in so many acts of parliament^m is he called the great deliverer of the nation? Why in so many sermons preached to men, and prayers put up to God, has he the title of 'the instrument blessed by heaven to free these nations from popery and arbitrary government?' Was all this done, that your posterity being brought back into the bondage their fathers

ⁱ The Thanksgiving for the Revolution.

^k Monthly fasts appointed the first Wednesday of every month during the war in king William's time.

^l Vid. The Collection of Addresses in king William's Reign.

^m Act for Offering the Crown; The Claim of Right; Act for Security of his Majesty's Person and Government, &c.

were delivered from, should with the same alacrity call him an invader, an usurper, a parricide, and their fathers, rebels and revolters.

Why was the crown entailed by so many provisos, reserves, and limitations? Why the names of every person that should succeed, so expressly and particularly mentioned and set downⁿ? Why so many acts of parliament^o to secure that entail, and punish with death those who should reject or oppose it? Why was the settlement of the crown thought to be of so much consequence to the public good, that the two daughters of king James, the late blessed queen Mary, and her present royal majesty, thought themselves bound to agree to the same for the safety and peace of their country, though it was in prejudice of the right and possession of their own father? Was it all, that the return of these things might be made upon the people with the greater weight, and that posterity might be prejudiced against the memory of the two royal sisters, as accessory to the ruin of their own father?

Why was king James and his popish posterity entirely excluded for ever from enjoying the imperial crown of these realms^p? Why were so many acts of parliament made to extinguish the hopes of his race, and of their party, and for further security of her majesty's person and government? Why was the settlement of the succession in a protestant line made the principal reason of uniting the two kingdoms together? And why was that union so vi-

ⁿ Vid. The several Prayers ordered to be read in Churches upon the occasion of the Fasts in king William's time.

^o Vid. The Act of the Settlement, and the Act of the Union; the Act to extinguish the hopes of the Jacobites; and the Act for further securing her Majesty's Person and Government.

^p Vid. The Act of Parliament for settling the Succession of the Crown on the Illustrious House of Hanover.

gorously opposed by all those that adhered to the jacobite interest? Was this to illustrate the return of the abdicated line, and by the greatness of the nation's endeavour for keeping out the pretender, to justify his using them accordingly when he comes in?

Why was the union declared to be unalterable, and, as some say, the power thereby taken out of the hands of the British parliament to change the settlement of the crown, or to name any other persons than those of the illustrious house of Hanover to succeed; and, above all, why was that severest of all oaths, the abjuration, contrived; by which it is rendered impossible for this nation, upon any pretence whatsoever, to receive the pretender but with the black stigma of an abominable perjury? Was this that, with the greater reverence to laws, and the greater regard to the solemnity of a national oath, we might all turn tail upon our principles, and in defiance of God and the laws, bow our knees to an abjured pretender?

For God's sake Britons, what are you doing? And whither are ye going? To what dreadful precipices are ye hurrying yourselves? What! are you selling yourselves for slaves to the French who you have conquered; to popery which you have reformed from; and to the pretender whom you have forsworn? Is this acting like Britons; like protestants, like lovers of liberty? Nay, is it acting like men of reasonable souls, and men who have the light of common sense to act by?

That we may move you, then, to consider a little the grossness and absurdity of what you are doing; dear countrymen, be prevailed upon to debate a little with yourselves the state of your own case, which I shall briefly and plainly lay before you thus:—

The government having thought fit for reasons of state, which I have no room to speak of in this place, to separate from the confederates, as well in the field as in treating with the French, and unhappily, I doubt, to make a separate peace; among the several improvements made of this by the enemies of Britian, this is one, viz., to encourage and increase the friends and interest of the pretender, and this they do upon several foundations. 1. Upon a supposition, or suggestion rather, that the ministry, because they have not thought fit to carry on the war, are therefore coming so entirely into the interest of France, that they must of necessity comply with the French king's demand of restoring the pretender. 2. Upon a like ill-grounded suggestion that the people of England and Scotland are more inclined to receive the pretender than they were formerly; in both which suppositions they grossly impose upon you, and yet by both they subtly carry on their crafty designs to delude the more ignorant part of the people of this nation, and to prepare them, as they think, for the coming of the pretender: as appears thus:—

1. By persuading the common people that the ministry are for the pretender, they, as far as in them lies, make a breach, a misunderstanding, and lay a foundation of jealousy and distrust between the people and the government, enraging all those who are zealous for the Hanover succession, against the ministers of state, and so increasing the dangerous divisions that are among us, the closing and healing whereof is so much the duty and interest of all faithful subjects, that they may the more unanimously and sincerely join together against the pretender and all his adherents.

2. They intimidate those great numbers of people who, not so much acting by principle as example,

are unwilling to show themselves in any cause which they have reason to fear is declining, and therefore act with the less zeal for the true interest, by how much they see, or think they see, the great ones of the nation fall off from it.

3. By suggesting that the common people of Great Britian are more inclined to the pretender than they were formerly, they think they bring them really to be so, and encourage all the endeavours of those who labour indefatigably all over the nation to have it so.

To undeceive the good people of Britain, therefore, in these things, dear countrymen, I beseech you to consider,

1. That whatever we may dislike of the proceedings of the ministry, and of the government, of which this is not the place to speak, there is no greater cheat can be put upon you than this is; for, whatever the jacobite party may promise themselves from the ministry, the ministry do not yet own their measures to tend that way; they do not act avowedly for the pretender; they do all things yet upon the supposition of the protestant succession, and carry it as in the interest of the house of Hanover; and to say they are for the pretender, is to charge them with the greatest treachery and hypocrisy, and is such an insolence in the jacobites, as the ministry ought to show their resentment at them for, and we hope they will do so; besides, there is a manifest difference between the fears of honest men, as that the measures of the ministry may encourage the friends of the pretender; and on the other hand, the insolent way of the jacobites claiming the ministry to be acting in their behalf; while therefore the ministry appear to act under the scheme of the Hanover succession, whether they are sincere or no, it is a good answer to a jacobite, whatever it is to

another, to say, it is an unjustifiable assurance, and an affront to the government, to boast of the ministry being in the interest of the pretender.

It is also well worthy the consideration of the good people of Britain, that at the same time these men would have you believe that the ministers of state are bringing in the pretender, they would also have the ministers of state made believe, that the generality of the people are inclined to receive the pretender; by which double-faced fraud they endeavour to restrain you, the people of Britain, from appearing against the pretender, for fear of offending the government; and to restrain the said government in the same case, for fear of the people.

As they go on in these things with too much success, it is a very sad consideration to all true British protestants to find that a party of men among us, who yet call themselves protestants, fall in with them in many things, fomenting the divisions and breaches that are among us, weakening the constitution, and pursuing such principles as tend to destroy our liberties; by whose arts, and by the subtle management of which party, the revolution wears every day more and more out of date; the principles of liberty decay; the memory of king William sinks in our esteem; the heroic actions of that prince, which were once the just admiration of all the honest people of Great Britain, begin to be lost upon us, and forgotten among us, and to become as a mark of infamy to the nation!

Every considering protestant cannot but observe with horror, what swarms of popish priests from abroad, and jacobite emissaries at home, are spread about among us, and busily employed to carry on these wicked designs; how in disguise they run up and down the countries, mingling themselves in all companies, and in coffeehouses, and private conver-

sation, endeavouring to insinuate with all possible subtlety, favourable notions of the pretender into the minds of the people, thereby to pave the way, and to prepare you for receiving him ; such as, that he is the lawful son of king James ; that he is a protestant in his heart ; that he will abjure the errors of popery as soon as he has an opportunity ; that the late king William promised to prove him a bastard, but never could do it ; that it is hard to reject him for what was none of his own fault, and the like.

Although thinking men can and do see through these things, yet, as they are calculated and prepared to deceive the ignorant people in the country, it is earnestly desired of those who have their eyes open to the said popish delusions, that they would endeavour to undeceive their brethren and neighbours, and earnestly persuade them not to be imposed upon by the jesuitical insinuations of the popish faction, furnishing the poor honest people with just reasons for their adhering to the protestant settlement, and full answers to those who go about to deceive them : which answers are such as follow :—

1. It seems absolutely necessary to remind them of the reason of the late revolution ; how king James II., by his popish counsellors, priests and jesuits, had laid the foundation of overwhelming all our liberties, in an arbitrary tyrannical government, ruling us without a parliament to redress our grievances, and by a standing army, to execute forcibly his absolute commands ; how he had engaged in the overthrow of our religion, by undermining the constitution of the church of England, erecting an arbitrary ecclesiastical commission to dispossess our universities, and displace our ministers in every parish, and then to establish popery throughout the whole nation.

2. That in this distress, the whole nation applied themselves to the prince of Orange, whose right to the succession made him justly appear as the proper person to assist and relieve this oppressed people ; which prince came over at our invitation, was blessed with success, and all the favourers of popery and tyranny sunk at once ; king James fled with his queen, and that person whom he called his son, and whom we now call justly the pretender.

3. Concerning the birth of this person, the nobility and gentry of England who invited over the prince, as may be seen by the memorial they presented to his highness, alleged, that there were violent presumptions that he was not born of the queen's body, which however they desired to leave to examination in a free parliament ; which also the said prince expressed in his declaration, and that he was willing to leave the same to a free parliament.

4. That before a free parliament could be obtained, king James withdrew himself, and carried away his pretended son into the hands of the ancient enemies of this nation, and of our religion, the French, there to be educated in the principles of popery and enmity to this his native country.

By which action he not only declined to refer the legitimacy of his said son to the examination of the parliament, as the prince of Orange had offered in his said declaration, but made such examination altogether useless and impracticable, he himself (king James) not owning it to be a legal parliament, and therefore not consenting to stand by such examination.

By the said abdication, and carrying away his said pretended son into the hands of the French to be educated in popery, &c., he gave the parliament of England and Scotland abundant reason for ever to exclude the said king James and his said pre-

tended son from the government of these realms, or from the succession to the same, and made it absolutely necessary for them to do so, if they would secure the protestant religion to themselves and their posterity; and this without any regard to the doubt whether he was the lawful son of king James or no, since it is inconsistent with the constitution of this protestant nation to be governed by a popish prince.

So that there is now no more room to examine whether the said pretender be the lawful son of king James; or whether he is, or will turn to be a protestant, the examination of the legitimacy by parliament which was offered by the prince of Orange in his declaration, having been declined by his father, and himself having been delivered up into the hands of the sworn enemies both of our religion, constitution, and nation.

If king James would have expected he should be received as his son, and succeed to his crowns, he should have suffered his birth to have been legally determined by the English and Scotch parliament at that time, and have left him in good protestant hands to have been educated in the protestant religion, and in the knowledge of the laws and constitutions of his country; in which case it was more than probable, had his birth appeared clear, and his hereditary right just, the parliament might have set the crown upon his head, and declared him king under the protection of their deliverer the prince of Orange: but to talk of it now, when his birth has never been examined or cleared up, and while he has been bred up to man's estate in popery, and that the worst sort, viz., French popery; and after the parliament of the respective kingdoms uniting in one, have by an unalterable, indissolvable union, settled and entailed the crown upon another head,

viz., the present queen, and entailed it after her majesty in the most illustrious house of Hanover, the next of blood in a protestant line: to talk now of proving the birth of the pretender, and of his abjuring his errors and turning protestant, this is a fraud so absurd and ridiculous, that we hope the people of Great Britain can never be blinded with it.

Especially considering the party who talk of these things to us: and this ought to move the good people of Britain to receive the proposals of the pretender with indignation: for who are they, dear fellow-protestants! that persuade you to these things? Are they not the friends of France and Rome? Do not all the papists join with them? Do not all those who hated the revolution, and who long to restore arbitrary government join with them?

Why, if he will abjure the Romish errors and turn protestant, why, I say, do the papists speak in his favour? Do any sect of religion love apostates! Those who forsake them and abjure them as heretical and erroneous! If they were not well assured that whatever appearing change he may make, he will still retain a secret affection to popery, they could not be rationally supposed to speak in his behalf.

But if that is not sufficient, what do they say to you as to his love of the liberty of his country? Has he been bred up in a tyrannical absolute court for nothing? Can he have any notion of government there but what is cruel, oppressive, absolute, and despotic? What principles of government will he come over with? and as he has sucked in tyranny with his milk, and knows no government but that of the most absolute monarch in the world, is this the man they would bring

in to preserve the liberties and constitution of Britain?

When set upon the British throne, who are his allies and confederates? Will he be so ungrateful as not to be always at the devotion and command of the French king? a prince that took his father in a fugitive, an abdicated and ruined prince, when his fortunes were overthrown, and his crown taken from him; that made so many efforts to restore him, and hazarded his whole kingdom for it: if he forgets the kindness shown to his father, can he be so ungenerous, so unthankful, as to forget how the king of France nourished him from a child; how, after his father's death, he hazarded a second war to proclaim him king of Great Britain, and what expense he has been at to put him in possession of it? Should he forget all these obligations he must be unfit to be called a Christian, much less a prince.

If he can act so barbarously to the French king his benefactor, what must you Britons expect from him, who have done nothing to oblige him, but have for twenty-four years kept him and his father in exile, and treated them both with unsufferable indignity? If he can be ungrateful to the king of France, who has done so much for him, what must he be to you, who have done so much against him?

Again; if gratitude and honour have any influence upon him; if he has any sense of his obligation to the French king, will he not for ever be his most hearty, obedient, humble servant? Will he not always be in his interest, nay ought he not be so? Is he not tied by the laws of friendship and gratitude to be so?

Think, then, dear Britons! what a king this pretender must be; a papist by inclination; a tyrant by education; a Frenchman by honour and obligation: and how long will your liberties last you in

this condition? And when your liberties are gone, how long will your religion remain? When your hands are tied; when armies bind you; when power oppresses you; when a tyrant disarms you; when a popish French tyrant reigns over you; by what means or methods can you pretend to maintain your protestant religion?

How shall the church of England stand, when in subjection to the church of Rome? You are now mixed with dissenters, and some are uneasy enough with them too; but our church will then be but a dissenting church; popery will be the establishment; the mass will succeed our common-prayer, and fire and fagot instead of toleration, as you know was our case before; for it is not the first time the papists have been tried.

Nor did queen Mary promise, nay, swear less than is now promised for the pretender; for she swore to the Gospellers of Suffolk to make no alteration in religion; and they, like the blinded protestants of this age, brought her in, for which they were the first that felt the fury and rage of the popish party, and so we have great cause to believe it would be again.

THE CONCLUSION.

CONSIDER, then, honest countrymen and protestants, what you are doing; look on your families; consider your innocent children, who you are going to give up to be bred in abominable superstition and idolatry; look on your dear country which you are preparing to make the seat of war, blood, and confusion: look on your neighbours, who, while they are resisting this inundation, for you may be assured honest men will resist it to the last, you are to fight with, whose throats you must cut, and in

whose blood you must dip your hands: and, lastly, consider yourselves; how free, how quiet, how in peace, plenty, and in protestant liberty you now live, but are with your own hands pulling down upon you, so far as you entertain thoughts of the pretender, the walls of your own security, viz., the constitution, and making way for your French popish enemies to enter; to whom your religion, your liberties, your estates, your families, and your posterity, shall be made a sacrifice, and this flourishing nation be entirely ruined.

In the last place, all that have any concern left for the good of their country, and for the preserving the protestant religion, will remember how much it is in the power of the people of Britain for ever to discourage all the attempts to be made in favour of these popish enemies, and to overthrow them in the execution; and it is on this foundation that this paper is made public. The late letter from Douay, written by some of that side, who very well understood the pretender's true interest, acknowledges this, and that if the people of England could not be wheedled and deluded into the design, it was never to be done by force.

And is this your case, Britons! Will you be ruined by a people whom you ought to despise? Have they not been twenty years trying your strength, till they find it impossible for them to master you? And are they brought to such a condition as to use all their arts and shifts to bring on a peace: and will you be brought now in cool thoughts, and after so long a struggle, to do that yourselves which you would never let them do; and which, without your most stupid negligence of yourselves, they could never do.

For this reason, I say, these lines are written, and this makes them just, and the argument ra-

tional. If I were to move you to what was not in your power, I should easily be answered, by being told, you could not do it; that you were not able, and the like: but is it not evident that the unanimous appearance of the people of Great Britain against the pretender would at once render all the party desperate, and make them look upon the design as utterly impracticable. As their only hope is in the breaches they are making in your resolutions, so if they should see they gain no ground there, they would despair, and give it over.

It would not be worth notice, to inquire who are, or who are not for the pretender: the invidious search into the conduct of great men, ministers of state and government, would be labour lost: no ministry will ever be for the pretender, if they once may but be convinced that the people are steady; that he gets no ground in the country; that the aversions of the common people to his person and his government are not to be overcome: but if you, the good people of England, slacken your hands; if you give up the cause; if you abate your zeal for your own liberties, and for the protestant religion: if you fall in with popery and a French pretender; if you forget the revolution, and king William, what can you expect? who can stand by you then? Who can save them that will destroy themselves?

The work is before you; your deliverance, your safety is in your own hands, and therefore these things are now written: none can give you up; none can betray you but yourselves; none can bring in popery upon you but yourselves; and if you could see your own happiness, it is entirely in your power, by unanimous, steady adhering to your old principles, to secure your peace for ever. O Jerusalem! Jerusalem!

R E A S O N S
AGAINST THE
S U C C E S S I O N
OF THE
HOUSE of HANOVER,
WITH AN
E N Q U I R Y

How far the Abdication of King *James*, sup-
posing it to be Legal, ought to affect the
Person of the

P R E T E N D E R.

Si Populus vult Decipi, Decipiat.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *J. Baker*, at the *Black-Boy* in *Pater-*
Noster-Row, 1713. [Price 6d.]

R E A S O N S

AGAINST

THE SUCCESSION, &c.



WHAT strife is here among you all? And what a noise about who shall or shall not be king, the Lord knows when? Is it not a strange thing we cannot be quiet with the queen we have, but we must all fall into confusion and combustions about who shall come after? Why, pray folks, how old is the queen, and when is she to die? that here is this pother made about it. I have heard wise people say the queen is not fifty years old, that she has no distemper but the gout, that that is a long-life disease, which generally holds people out twenty, or thirty, or forty years; and and let it go how it will, the queen may well enough linger out twenty or thirty years, and not be a huge old wife neither. Now, what say the people, must we think of living twenty or thirty years in this wrangling condition we are now in? This would be a torment worse than some of the Egyptian plagues, and would be intolerable to bear, though for fewer years than that. The animosities

of this nation, should they go on, as it seems they go on now, would by time become to such a height, that all charity, society, and mutual agreement among us, will be destroyed. Christians shall we be called! No; nothing of the people called Christians will be to be found among us. Nothing of Christianity, or the substance of Christianity, viz., charity, will be found among us! The name Christian may be assumed, but it will be all hypocrisy and delusion; the being of Christianity must be lost in the fog, and smoke, and stink, and noise, and rage, and cruelty, of our quarrel about a king. Is this rational? Is it agreeable to the true interest of the nation? What must become of trade, of religion, of society, of relation, of families, of people? Why, hark ye, you folk that call yourselves rational, and talk of having souls, is this a token of your having such things about you, or of thinking rationally; if you have, pray what is it likely will become of you all? Why, the strife is gotten into your kitchens, your parlours, your shops, your counting-houses, nay, into your very beds. You gentlefolks, if you please to listen to your cookmaids and footmen in your kitchens, you shall hear them scolding, and swearing, and scratching, and fighting among themselves; and when you think the noise is about the beef and the pudding, the dish-water, or the kitchen-stuff, alas, you are mistaken, the feud is about the more mighty affairs of the government, and who is for the protestant succession, and who for the pretender. Here the poor despicable scullions learn to cry, High-Church, No Dutch Kings, No Hanover, that they may do it dexterously when they come into the next mob. Here their antagonists of the dripping-pan practise the other side clamour, No

French Peace, No Pretender, No Popery. The thing is the very same up one pair of stairs, in the shops and warehouses the apprentices stand some on one side of the shop, and some on the other, (having trade little enough,) and there they throw high-church and low-church at one another's heads like battledore and shuttlecock ; instead of posting their books, they are fighting and railing at the pretender and the house of Hanover ; it were better for us certainly that these things had never been heard of. If we go from the shop one story higher into our family, the ladies, instead of their innocent sports and diversions, they are all falling out one among another ; the daughters and the mother, the mothers and the daughters ; the children and the servants ; nay, the very little sisters one among another. If the chambermaid is a slattern, and does not please, Hang her, she is a jade ; or I warrant she is a highflier ; or, on the other side, I warrant she is a whig ; I never knew one of that sort good for anything in my life. Nay, go to your very bedchambers, and even in bed, the man and wife shall quarrel about it. People ! people ! what will become of you at this rate ? If ye cannot set man and wife together, nor your sons and daughters together, nay, nor your servants together, how will ye set your horses together, think ye ? And how shall they stand together twenty or thirty years, think ye, if the queen should live so long ? Before that time comes, if you are not reduced to your wits, you will be stark mad ; so that unless yon can find in your hearts to agree about this matter beforehand, the condition you are in, and by that time will in all likelihood be in, will ruin us all ; and this is one sufficient reason why we should say nothing, and do nothing about the suc-

cession, but just let it rest where it is, and endeavour to be quiet; for it is impossible to live thus. Further, if Hanover should come while we are in such a condition, we shall ruin him, or he us, that is most certain. It remains to inquire what will be the issue of things. Why, first, if ye will preserve the succession, and keep it right, you must settle the peace of the nation; we are not in a condition to stand by the succession now, and if we go on we shall be worse able to do so; in his own strength Hanover does not pretend to come, and if he did he must miscarry; if not in his own, in whose then but the people of Britain? And if the people be a weakened, divided, and deluded people, and see not your own safety to lie in your agreement among yourselves, how shall such weak folk assist him, especially against a strong enemy; so that it will be your destruction to attempt to bring in the house of Hanover, unless you can stand by and defend him when he is come; this will make you all like Monmouth's men in the west, and you will find yourselves lifted up to halters and gibbets, not to places and preferments. Unless you reconcile yourselves to one another, and bring things to some better pass among the common people, it will be but to banter yourselves to talk of the protestant succession; for you neither will be in a condition to bring over your protestant successor, or to support him on the throne when you have brought him; and it will not be denied, but to make the attempt, and not succeed in it, is to ruin yourselves; and this I think a very good reason against the succession of the house of Hanover.

Another argument relates something to the family of Hanover itself. Here the folk are continually fighting and quarrelling with one another to such a degree as must infallibly weaken and disable the whole

body of the nation, and expose them to any enemy, foreign or domestic. What prince, think you, will venture his person with a party or a faction, and that a party crushed, and under the power of their enemy ; a party who have not been able to support themselves or their cause, how shall they support and defend him when he comes ? And if they cannot be in a posture to defend and maintain him when they have him, how shall he be encouraged to venture himself among them ? To come over and make the attempt here according to his just claim and the laws of the land would be indeed his advantage, if there was a probability that he should succeed, otherwise the example of the king of Poland is sufficient to warn him against venturing while the nation is divided, and together by the ears, as they are here. The whole kingdom of Poland, we see, could not defend king Augustus against the Swedes and their pretender ; but though he had the majority, and was received as king over the whole kingdom, yet it being a kingdom divided into factions and parties, and those parties raging with bitter envy and fury one against another, even just as ours do here, what came of it but the ruin of king Augustus, who was as it were a prisoner in his own court, and was brought to the necessity of abdicating the crown of Poland, and of acknowledging the title of the pretender to that crown. Now what can the elector of Hanover expect if he should make the attempt here while we are in this divided factious condition, while the pretender, backed by his party at home, shall also have the whole power of France to support him, and place him upon the throne ?

Let us but look back to a time when the very same case almost fell out in this nation ; the same many ways it was, that is, in the case of queen Mary I.,

your bloody papist persecuting queen Mary and the lady Jane Dudley, or Grey. The late king Edward VI. had settled the protestant succession upon the lady Jane; it was received universally as the protestant succession is now. The reasons which moved the people to receive it were the same, i. e., the safety of the protestant religion, and the liberties and properties of the people; all the great men of king Edward's court and council came readily into this succession, and gave their oaths, or what was in those days, (whatsoever it may be now,) thought equal to an oath, viz., their honour, for the standing by the successor in her taking possession of her said just right. Mary, daughter of Catherine of Spain, was the pretender; her mother was abdicated, (so we call it in this age,) repudiated, they called it, or divorced. Her daughter was adjudged illegitimate or spurious, because the marriage of her mother was esteemed unlawful; just as our pretender is by this nation suggested spurious, by reason of the yet unfolded mysteries of his birth. Again, that pretender had the whole power of Spain, which was then the most dreaded of any in the world, and was just what the French are now, viz., the terror of Europe. If queen Mary was to have the crown, it was allowed by all that England was to be governed by Spanish councils, and Spanish maxims, Spanish money, and Spanish cruelty. Just as we say now of the pretender, that if he was to come in we shall be all governed by French maxims, French councils, French money, and French tyranny. In these things the pretender (Mary) at that time was the parallel to our pretender now, and that with but very little difference. Besides all this, she was a papist, which was directly contrary to the pious design of king Edward in propagating the reformation. Exactly agreeing these

things were with our succession, our pretender, our king William and his design, by settling the succession for the propagating the revolution, which is the reformation of this day, as the reformation was the revolution of that day. After this formal settling of the succession the king (as kings and queens must) dies, and the lords of the council, as our law calls them, they were the same thing, suppose lords justices, they meet and proclaim their protestant successor, as they were obliged to do; and what followed? Had they been unanimous, had they stuck to one another, had they not divided into parties, high and low, they had kept their protestant successor in spite of all the power of Spain, but they fell out with one another; high protestants against low protestants? and what was the consequence? One side to ruin the other brought in the pretender upon them, and so Spanish power as it was predicted, came in upon them, and devoured them all. Popery came in, as they feared, and all went to ruin; and what came of the protestant successor? Truly they brought her to ruin. For first bringing her in, and then, by reason of their own strife and divisions, not being able to maintain her in the possession of that crown, which at their request she had taken, she fell into her enemies' hand, was made a sacrifice to their fury, and brought to the block. What can be a more lively representation of our case now before us? He must have small sense of the state of our case, I think, who in our present circumstances can desire the Hanover succession should take place. What! would you bring over the family of Hanover to have them murdered? No, no, those that have a true value for the house of Hanover, would by no means desire them to come hither, or desire you to bring them on such terms; first let the world see you are

in a condition to support and defend them, that the pretender, and his power and alliances of any kind, shall not disperse and ruin him and you together ; first unite and put yourselves into a posture that you may defend the succession, and then you may have it ; but as it stands now, good folks, consider with yourselves what prince in Europe will venture among us, and who that has any respect or value for the house of Hanover can desire them to come hither.

These are some good reasons why the succession of the house of Hanover should not be our present view. Another reason may be taken from the example of the good people in the days of king Edward VI. they were very good religious people, that must be allowed by all sides, and who had very great zeal for the protestant religion and the reformation, as it was then newly established among them ; and this zeal of theirs appeared plainly in a degree we can scarce hope for among the protestants of this age, viz., in their burning for it afterwards ; yet such was their zeal for the hereditary right of their royal family, that they chose to fall into the hands of Spanish tyranny, and of Spanish popery, and let the protestant religion and the hopes of its establishment go to the d——l, rather than not have the right line of their princes kept up, and the eldest daughter of their late king Henry come to the crown. Upon this principle they forsook their good reforming king Edward's scheme, rejected the protestant succession, and they themselves, protestants, sincere protestants, such as afterwards died at a stake for their religion, the protestant religion ; yet they brought in the pretender according to their principles, and run the risk of what could follow thereupon. Why should we think it strange then that protestants now in this age, and church of England protestants too, should

be for a papish pretender? no doubt but they may be as good protestants as the Suffolk men in queen Mary's time were, and if they are brought to it, will go as far, and die at a stake for the protestant religion, and in doing this, no doubt, but it is their real prospect to die at a stake, or they would not do it to be sure. Now the protestant religion, the whole work of reformation, the safety of the nation, both as to their liberties and religion, the keeping out French or Spanish popery, the dying at a stake, and the like, being always esteemed things of much less value than the faithful adhering to the divine rule of keeping the crown in the right line, let any true protestant tell me, how can we pretend to be for the Hanover succession? It is evident that the divine hereditary right of our crown is the main great article now in debate. You call such a man the pretender, but is he not the son of our king? And if so, what is the protestant religion to us? Had we not much better be papists than traitors? Had we not much better deny our God, our baptism, our religion, and our lives, than deny our lawful prince, our next male in a right line? If popery comes, passive obedience is still our friend; we are protestants; we can die, we can burn, we can do anything but rebel; and this being our first duty, viz., to recognise our rightful sovereign, are we not to do that first? And if popery or slavery follow, we must act as becomes us. This being then orthodox doctrine, is equally a substantial reason why we should be against the Hanover succession.

There may be sundry other reasons given why we should not be for this new establishment of the succession, which though perhaps they may not seem so cogent in themselves, have yet a due force, as they stand related to other circumstances, which this nation is at present involved in, and therefore are only

left to the consideration of the people of these times. No question but every honest Briton is for a peaceable succession; now if the pretender comes, and is quietly established on the throne, why then you know there is an end of all our fears of the great and formidable power of France; we have no more need to fear an invasion, or the effects of leaving France in a condition by the peace to act against us, and put the pretender upon us; and therefore peace being of so much consequence to this nation, after so long and so cruel a war, none can think of entering upon a new war for the succession without great regret and horror. Now it cannot be doubted but the succession of Hanover would necessarily involve us again in a war against France, and that perhaps when we may be in no good case to undertake it, for these reasons. 1. Perhaps some princes and states in the world by that time, seeing the great increase and growth of French power, may think fit to change their sentiments, and rather come over to that interest for want of being supported before, than be willing to embark against France, and so it may not be possible to obtain a new confederacy in the degree and extent of it, which we have seen it in, or in any degree suitable to the power of France; and if so, there may be but small hopes of success in case of a new rupture; and any war had better be let alone than be carried on to loss, which often ends in the overthrow of the party or nation who undertake it, and fails in the carrying it on. 2. France itself, as well by the acquisition of those princes who may have changed sides, as above, as by a time for taking breath after the losses they have received, may be raised to a condition of superior strength, and may be too much an over-match for us to venture upon; and if he thinks fit to send us the person we call the pretender, and order us to

take him for our king, and this when we are in no condition to withstand him, prudence will guide us to accept of him; for all people comply with what they cannot avoid; and if we are not in a condition to keep him out, there wants very little consultation upon the question, whether we shall take him in? or no? Like this is a man, who being condemned to be hanged, and is in irons in the dungeon at Newgate, when he sees all possibility either of pardon from the queen, or escape out of prison, what does he resolve upon next? What! why he resolves to die. What should he resolve on? everybody submits to what they cannot escape. People! People! if ye cannot resist the French king, ye must submit to a French pretender. There is no more to be said about that. 3. Then some allies, who it might be thought would be able to lend you some help in such a case as this is, may pretend to be disgusted at former usage, and say they were abandoned and forsaken in their occasion by us, and they will not hazard for a nation who disobliged them so much before, and from whom they have not received suitable returns for the debt of the revolution. And if these nations should take things so ill as to refuse their aid and assistance in a case of so much necessity as that of the succession, how shall we be able to maintain that attempt? And, as before, an attempt of that, or any other kind like that, is better unmade than ineffectually made. 4. Others add a yet further reason of our probable inability in such a case, viz., that the enemies of Britain have so misrepresented things to some of the neighbouring nations, our good friends and allies, as if we Britons had betrayed the protestant interest, and not atced faithfully to our confederacies and alliances, in which our reputation, it is pretended, has suffered so much, as not to merit to be trusted again in like cases, or that it should be

safe to depend upon our most solemn engagements. This, though it is invidious and harsh, yet if there may be any truth in it, as we hope there is not, may be added as a very good reason, why, after this war is over, we may be in no good case at all to undertake or to carry on a new war in defence of the new protestant succession, when it may come to be necessary so to do. Since then the succession of Hanover will necessarily involve us in a new war against France, and for the reasons above, if they are allowed to be good reasons, we may not be in a condition to carry on that war, is not this a good reason why we should not in our present circumstances be for that succession? Other reasons may be taken from the present occasion the nation may lie under of preserving and securing the best administration of things that ever this nation was under in many ages; and if this be found to be inconsistent with the succession of Hanover, as some feign, it is hoped none will say but we ought to consider what we do; if the succession of Hanover is not consistent with these things, what reason have we to be for the said succession, till that posture of things be arrived when that inconsistency may be removed? And now, people of Britain! be your own judges upon what terms you can think it reasonable to insist any longer upon this succession. I do not contend that it is not a lawful succession, a reasonable succession, an established succession, nay, a sworn succession; but if it be not a practicable succession, and cannot be a peaceable succession; if peace will not bring him in, and war cannot, what must we do? It were much better not to have it at all, than to have it and ruin the kingdom, and ruin those that claim it at the same time.

But yet I have other reasons than these, and more cogent ones; learned men say, some diseases in na-

ture are cured by antipathies, and some by sympathies ; that the enemies of nature are the best preservatives of nature ; that bodies are brought down by the skill of the physician that they may the better be brought up, made sick to be made well, and carried to the brink of the grave in order to be kept from the grave ; for these reasons, and in order to these things, poisons are administered for physic ; or amputations in surgery, the flesh is cut that it may heal ; an arm laid open that it may close with safety ; and these methods of cure are said to be the most certain as well as most necessary in those particular cases, from whence it is become a proverbial saying in physic, desperate diseases must have desperate remedies. Now it is very proper to inquire in this case whether the nation is not in such a state of health at this time, that the coming of the pretender may not be of absolute necessity, by way of cure of such national distempers which now afflict us, and that an effectual cure can be wrought no other way ? If upon due inquiry it should appear that we are not fit to receive such a prince as the successor of the house of Hanover is, that we should maltreat and abuse him if he were here, and that there is no way for us to learn the true value of a protestant successor so well as by tasting a little what a popish pretender is, and feeling something of the great advantages that may accrue to us by the superiority of a Jacobite party, if the disease of stupidity has so far seized us that we are to be cured only by poisons and fermentations ; if the wound is mortified, and nothing but deep incisions, amputations, and desperate remedies must be used ; if it should be necessary thus to teach us the worth of things by the want of them ; and there is no other way to bring the nation to its senses ; why, what can be then said against the

pretender? Even let him come that we may see what slavery means, and may inquire how the chains of French galleys hang about us, and how easy wooden shoes are to walk in; for no experience teaches so well as that we buy dearest, and pay for with the most smart.

I think this may pass for a very good reason against the protestant succession: nothing is surer than that the management of king Charles II. and his late brother, were the best ways the nation could ever have taken to bring to pass the happy revolution; yet these afflictions to the island were not joyous, but grievous, for the time they remained, and the poor kingdoms suffered great convulsions; but what weighs that if these convulsions are found to be necessary to a cure? If the physicians prescribe a vomit for the cure of any particular distemper, will the patient complain of being made sick? No, no; when you begin to be sick, then we say, oh, that is right, and then the vomit begins to work; and how shall the island of Britain spew out all the dregs and filth the public digesture has contracted, if it be not made sick with some French physic? If you give good nourishing food upon a foul stomach, you cause that wholesome food to turn into filth, and instead of nourishing the man, it nourishes diseases in the man, till those diseases prove his destruction, and bring him to the grave. In like manner, if you will bring the protestant successor into the government before that government have taken some physic to cleanse it from the ill digesture it may have been under, how do we know but the diseases which are already begun in the constitution may not be nourished and kept up, till they may hereafter break out in the days of our posterity, and prove mortal to the nation. Wherefore should we desire the protestant successor to

come in upon a foot of high-flying menage, and be beholden for their establishment to those who are the enemies of the constitution? Would not this be to have in time to come the successors of that house be the same thing as the ages passed have already been made sick of, and made to spew out of the government? Are not any of these considerations enough to make any of us averse to the protestant succession? No, no; let us take a French vomit first, and make us sick, that we may be well, and may afterwards more effectually have our health established.

The pretender will no doubt bring us good medicines, and cure us of all our hypochondriac vapours that now make us so giddy. But, say some, he will bring popery in upon us; popery, say you! alas! it is true, popery is a sad thing, and that say some folk ought to have been thought on before now; but suppose then this thing called popery! How will it come in? Why, say the honest folk, the pretender is a papist, and if a popish prince come upon the throne we shall have popery come in upon us without fail. Well, well, and what hurt will this be to you? May not popery be very good in its kind? What if this popery, like the vomit made of poison, be the only physic that can cure you? If this vomit make you spew out your filth, your tory filth, your idolatrous filth, your tyrannic filth, and restore you to your health, shall it not be good for you? Where pray observe in the allegory of physic; you heard before when you take a vomit, the physic given you to vomit is always something contrary to nature, something that if taken in quantity would destroy; but how does it operate. It attacks nature, and puts her upon a ferment to cast out what offends her; but remark it, I pray, when the patient vomits, he always vomits up the physic and the filth together;

so, if the nation should take a vomit of popery, as when the pretender comes most certain it is that this will be the consequence, they will vomit up the physic and the filth together; the popery and the pretender will come all up again, and all the popish, arbitrary, tyrannical filth, which has offended the stomach of the nation so long, and ruined its digestion, it will all come up together; one vomit of popery will do us all a great deal of good, for the stomach of the constitution is marvellous foul. Observe, people! this is no new application; the nation has taken a vomit of this kind before now, as in queen Mary I. time; the reformation was not well chewed, and being taken down whole, did not rightly digest, but left too much crudity in the stomach, from whence proceeded ill nourishment, bad blood, and a very ill habit of body in the constitution; witness the distemper which seized the Gospellers in Suffolk, who being struck with an epilepsy or dead palsy in the better half of their understanding, to wit, the religious and zealous part, took up arms for a popish pretender, against the protestant successor, upon the wild-headed whimsey of the right line being *jure divino*. Well, what followed, I pray? Why, they took a vomit of popery; the potion indeed was given in a double vehicle, viz., of fagots a little inflamed, and this worked so effectually, that the nation having vomited, brought up all the filth of the stomach, and the foolish notion of hereditary right, spewed out popery also along with it. Thus was popery, and fire and fagot, the most effectual remedy to cure the nation of all its simple diseases, and to settle and establish the protestant reformation; and why then should we be so terrified with the apprehensions of popery? Nay, why should we not open our eyes and see how much to our advantage it may be in the next reign to have popery brought in, and

to that end the pretender set up, that he may help us to this most useful dose of physic? These are some other of my reasons against the protestant succession; I think they cannot be mended; it may perhaps be thought hard of that we should thus seem to make light of so terrible a thing as popery, and should jest with the affair of the protestants; no, people! no; this is no jest, taking physic is no jest at all; for it is useful many ways, and there is no keeping the body in health without it; for the corruption of politic constitutions are as gross and as fatal as those of human bodies, and require as immediate application of medicines. And why should you people of this country be so alarmed, and seem so afraid of this thing called popery, when it is spoken of in intelligible terms, since you are not afraid alternately to put your hands to those things which as naturally tend in themselves to bring it upon you, as clouds tend to rain, or smoke to fire; what does all your scandalous divisions, your unchristian quarrellings, your heaping up reproaches, and loading each other with infamy, and with abominable forgeries, what do these tend to but to popery? If it should be asked how have these any such reference? The question is most natural from the premises. If divisions weaken the nation; if whig and tory, even united, are, and have been, weak enough to keep out popery; surely then widening the unnatural breaches, and inflaming things between them to implacable and irreconcilable breaches, must tend to overthrow the protestant kingdom, which, as our ever blessed Saviour said, *when divided against itself cannot stand*. Besides, are not your breaches come up to that height already as to let any impartial bystander see that popery must be the consequences? Do not one party say openly, they had rather be papists than presbyterians;

that they would rather go to mass than to a meeting-house; and are they not to that purpose, all of them who are of that height, openly joined with the jacobites in the cause of popery? On the other hand, are not the presbyterians in Scotland so exasperated at having the abjuration oath imposed upon them, contrary, as they tell us, to their principles, that they care not if he, or any else, would come now and free them from that yoke? What is all this but telling us plainly that the whole nation is running into popery and the pretender? Why then, while you are obliquely, and by consequences, joining your hands to bring in popery, why, O distracted folk! should you think it amiss to have me talk of doing it openly and avowedly? Better is open enmity than secret guile; better is it to talk openly, and profess openly, for popery, that you may see the shape and real picture of it, than pretend strong opposition of it, and be all at the same time putting your hands to the work, and pulling it down upon yourselves with all your might.

But here comes an objection in our way, which, however weighty, we must endeavour to get over, and this is, what becomes of the abjuration? If the pretender comes in we are all perjured, and we ought to be all unanimous for the house of Hanover, because we are all perjured if we are for the pretender. Perjured, say ye! Ha! why, do all these people say we are perjured already? Nay, one, two, three, or four times? What signify oaths and abjurations in a nation where the parliament can make an oath to-day, and punish a man for keeping it to-morrow! Besides, taking oaths without examination, and breaking them without consideration, hath been so much a practice, and the date of its original is so far back, that none, or but very few, know where to look for it; nay, have we not

been called in the vulgar dialect of foreign countries 'the swearing nation'? Note, we do not say the forsworn nation; for whatever other countries say of us, it is not meet we should say so of ourselves: but as to swearing and forswearing, associating and abjuring, there are very few without sin to throw the first stone, and therefore we may be the less careful to answer in this matter: it is evident that the friends of the pretender cannot blame us; for have not the most professed jacobites all over the nation taken this abjuration? Nay, when even in their hearts they have all the while resolved to be for the pretender? Not to instance in the swearing in all ages to and against governments, just as they were or were not, in condition to protect us, or keep others out of possession: but we have a much better way to come off this than that, and we doubt not to clear the nation of perjury, by declaring the design, true intent, and meaning of the thing itself; for the good or evil of every action is said to lie in the intention; if then we can prove the bringing in the pretender to be done with a real intention and sincere desire to keep him out, or, as before, to spew him out; if we bring in popery with an intention and a sincere design to establish the protestant religion; if we bring in a popish prince with a single design the firmer and better to fix and introduce the protestant Hanover succession, if, I say, these things are the true intent and meaning, and are at the bottom of all our actions in this matter, pray how shall we be said to be perjured, or to break in upon the abjuration, whose meaning we keep whatever becomes of the literal part of it. Thus we are abundantly defended from the guilt of perjury, because we preserve the design and intention upright and entire for the house of Hanover; though as the best means to bring it to pass we think fit to

bring in popery and the pretender : but yet further, to justify the lawfulness and usefulness of such kind of methods, we may go back to former experiments of the same case, or like cases, for nothing can illustrate such a thing so aptly, as the example of eminent men who have practised the very same things in the same or like cases, and more especially when that practice has been made use of by honest men in an honest cause, and the end been crowned with success. This eminent example was first put in practice by the late famous earl of Sunderland, in the time of king James II., and that too in the case of bringing popery into England, which is the very individual article before us. This famous politician, if fame lies not, turned papist himself, went publicly to mass, advised and directed all the forward rash steps that king James afterwards took towards the introducing of popery into the nation : if he is not slandered, it was he advised the setting up of popish chapels and masshouses in the city of London, and in the several principal towns of this nation ; the invading the right of corporations, courts of justice, universities, and, at last, the erecting the high commission court, to sap the foundations of the church ; and many more of the arbitrary steps which that monarch took for the ruin of the protestant religion, as he thought, were brought about by this politic earl, purely with design, and as the only effectual means to ruin the popish schemes, and bring about the establishment of the protestant religion by the revolution ; and, as experience after made it good, he alone was in the right, and it was the only way left, the only step that could be taken, though at first it made us all of the opinion the man was going the ready way to ruin his country, and that he was selling us to popery and Rome. This was exactly our case ; the

nation being sick of a deadly, and otherwise incurable, disease, this wise physician knew that nothing but a medicine made up of deadly poison, that should put the whole body into convulsions, and make it cast up the dregs of the malady, would have any effect ; and so he applied himself accordingly to such a cure ; he brought on popery to the very door ; he caused the nation to swallow as much of it as he thought was enough to make her as sick as a horse, and then he foresaw she would spew up the disease and the medicine together ; the potion of popery he saw would come up with it, and so it did. If this be our case now, then it may be true that bringing the pretender is the only way to establish the protestant succession ; and upon such terms, and such only, I declare myself for the pretender. If any sort of people are against the succession of the house of Hanover on any other accounts, and for other reasons, it may not be amiss to know some of them, and a little to recommend them to those who have a mind to be for him, but well know not wherefore or why they are so inclined. 1. Some being instructed to have an aversion to all foreign princes or families are against the succession of the princes of Hanover, because, as they are taught to say, they are Dutchmen ; now, though it might as well be said of the pretender that he is a Frenchman, yet that having upon many accounts been made more familiar to them of late, and the name of a Dutch king having a peculiar odium left upon it, by the grievances of the late king William's reign, they can by no means think of another Dutch succession without abhorrence ; nay, the aversion is so much greater than their aversions to popery, that they can with much more satisfaction entertain the notion of a popish French pretender than of the best protestant in the world, if he hath anything belonging

to him that sounds like a Dutchman: and this is some people's reason against the Hanover succession; a reason which has produced various effects in the world since the death of that prince, even to creating national antipathies in some people to the whole people of Holland, and to wish us involved in a war with the Dutch without any foundation of a quarrel with them, or any reason for those aversions; but these things opening a scene which relates to things further back than the subject we are now upon, we omit them here for brevity sake, and to keep more closely to the thing in hand at this time. Others have aversions to the Hanover succession as it is the effect of the revolution, and as it may reasonably be supposed to favour such principles as the revolution was brought about by, and has been the support of, viz., principles of liberty, justice, rights of parliaments, the people's liberties, free possession of property, and such like; these doctrines, a certain party in this nation have always to their utmost opposed, and have given us reason to believe they hate and abhor them, and for this reason they cannot be supposed to appear forward for the Hanover succession; to these principles have been opposed the more famous doctrines of passive obedience, absolute will, indefeasible right, the *jus divinum* of the line of princes, hereditary right, and such like; these, as preached up by that eminent divine, Dr. Henry Sacheverell, are so much preferable to the pretences of liberty and constitution, the old republican notions of the whigs, that they cannot but fill these people with hatred against all those that would pretend to maintain the foundation we now stand upon, viz., the revolution; and this is their reason against the Hanover succession, which they know would endeavour to do so.

Come we in the conclusion of this great matter

to one great and main reason, which they say prevails with a great part of the nation at this time to be for the pretender, and which many subtle heads and industrious hands are now busily employed all over the kingdom to improve in the minds of the common people, this is the opinion of the legitimacy of the birth of the pretender; it seems, say these men, that the poor commons of Britain have been all along imposed upon to believe that the person called the pretender was a spurious birth, a child fostered upon the nation by the late king and queen; this delusion was carried on, say they, by the whigs in king William's time, and a mighty stir was made of it to possess the rabbles in favour of the revolution, but nothing was ever made of it; king William, say they, promised in his declaration to have it referred to the decision of the English parliament, but when he obtained the crown he never did anything that way more than encourage the people to spread the delusion by scurrilous pamphlets to amuse the poor commons; have them take a thing for granted which could have no other thing made of it; and so the judging of it in parliament was made a sham only; and the people drinking in the delusion, as they who were in the plot desired, it has passed ever since as if the thing had been sufficiently proved. Now upon a more sedate considering the matter, say they, the case is clear that this person is the real son of king James, and the favourers of the revolution go now upon another foundation, viz., the powers of parliaments to limit the succession; and that succession being limited upon king James's abdication, which they call voluntary; so that now, say they, the question about the legitimacy of the person called the pretender is over, and nothing now is to be said of it; that he is the son of king James, there

is, say they, no more room to doubt, and therefore the doctrine of hereditary right taking place, as the ancient professed doctrine of the church of England, there can be no objection against his being our lawful king; and it is contrary to the said church of England doctrine to deny it. This then is the present reason which the poor ignorant people are taught to give why they are against the protestant succession, and why they are easily persuaded to come into the new scheme of a popish pretender, though at the same time they are all heartily against popery as much as ever.

It becomes necessary now to explain this case a little to the understanding of the common people, and let them know upon what foundation the right of these two parties is founded, and if this be done with plainness and clearness, as by the rights and laws of Englishmen and Britons appertaineth, the said commons of Britain may soon discover whether the succession of the house of Hanover, or the claim of the person called the pretender, is founded best, and which they ought to adhere unto. The first thing it seems to be made clear to the common people is, whether the pretender was the lawful son of king James, yea, or no? And why the contrary to this was not made appear, according to the promises which, they say, though falsely, were made by the late king William? In the first place is to be considered, that the declaration of the said king, when P. of O. putting the said case in the modestest manner possible, had this expression, That there were violent suspicions that the said person was not born of the queen's body, and that the prince resolved to leave the same to the free parliament, to which throughout the said declaration the said prince declared himself ready to refer all the

grievances which he came over to redress. I shall give you this in the words of a late learned author upon that head.

That before a free parliament could be obtained, king James withdrew himself, and carried away his pretended son into the hands of the ancient enemies of this nation, and of our religion, viz., the French, there to be educated in the principles of enmity to this his native country.

By which action he not only declined to refer the legitimacy of his said son to the examination of the parliament, as the prince of Orange had offered in his said declaration, but made such examination altogether useless and impracticable, he himself (king James) not owning it to be a legal parliament, and therefore not consenting to stand by such examination.

By the said abdication, and carrying away his said pretended son into the hands of the French to be educated in popery, &c., he gave the parliament of England and Scotland abundant reason for ever to exclude the said king James and his said pretended son from the government of these realms, or from the succession to the same, and made it absolutely necessary for them to do so, if they would secure the protestant religion to themselves and their posterity; and this without any regard to the doubt, whether he was the lawful son of king James, or no, since it is inconsistent with the constitution of this protestant nation to be governed by a popish prince.

The proof of the legitimacy being thus stated, and all the violent suspicions of his not being born of the queen being thus confirmed by the abdication of king James, come we next to examine how far this abdication could forfeit for this pretender, supposing him to be the real son of king James; this returns

upon the right of the parliament to limit the succession, supposing king James had had no son at all; if the abdication be granted a lawfully making the throne vacant, it will be very hard to assign a cause why the parliament might not name a successor while the father was alive, whose right had no violent suspicions attending it, and not why they might not name a successor though the son was living; that the father's abdication forfeited for the son is no part of the question before us: for the father is not said to forfeit his right at all; no one ever questioned his right to reign, nor, had he thought fit to have stayed, could the parliament have named a successor, unless, as in the case of Richard II. he had made a voluntary resignation or renunciation of the crown, and of his people's allegiance; but the king having voluntarily abdicated the throne, this was as effectual a releasing his subjects from their allegiance to him, as if he had read an instrument of resignation, just as king Richard did; all the articles of such a resignation were naturally contained in the said abdication, except the naming the successor, as effectually as if they had been at large repeated; and since the resigning the crown has been formerly practised in England, and there is so eminent an example in our English history of the same, it will questionless be of use to the reader of these sheets to have the particulars of it before his eyes, which for that purpose is here set down at large, as it was done in the presence of a great number of English peers, who attended the king for that purpose, and is as follows:—

In the name of God, Amen. I Richard, by the grace of God, king of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, do hereby acquit and discharge all Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Marquisses, and Earls,

Barons, Lords, and all other my subjects, both spiritual and secular, of what degree soever, from their oath of fealty and homage, and all other bonds of allegiance, to me due from them and their heirs, and do hereby release them from the said oath and allegiance, so far as they concern my person, for ever.

I also resign all my kingly majesty and dignity, with all the rights and privileges thereunto belonging, and do renounce all the title and claim which I ever had, or have, to them. I also renounce the government of the said kingdom, and the name and royal highness thereunto belonging, freely and wholly, and swearing upon the Evangelists that I will never oppose this my voluntary resignation, nor suffer it to be opposed, as judging myself not unworthily deposed from my regal dignity for my deserts.

This resignation being read again in parliament, they grounded the deposing king Richard upon it, and declared him accordingly deposed, that is, declared the throne vacant; and immediately, by virtue of their own undoubted right of limiting the succession, named the successor. See the form in the history of that time thus:—

That the throne was vacant by the voluntary cession and just deposition of king Richard II. and that therefore according to their undoubted power and right so to do, they ought forthwith to the naming a successor to fill the said throne, which they forthwith did, by naming and proclaiming Henry, duke of Lancaster, to be king, &c.

See the history of the kings of England, vol. fol. 287.

This was the same thing with king James's abdi-
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cation, and king James's abdication was no less or more than an effectual resignation in form ; now the parliament, upon the resignation of the crown by the king, having a manifold and manifest right to supply the throne so become vacant, had no obligation to regard the posterity of the abdicated prince, so far as any of them are concerned in, or involved by, the said abdication, and therefore considered of establishing and limiting the succession, without mentioning the reasons of the descent, having the reasons in themselves : but suppose the son of king James had been allowed legitimate, yet as the father had involved him in the same circumstances with himself, by first carrying him out of the kingdom, and afterwards educating him in the popish religion, he became abdicated also with his father : neither doth the being voluntary or not voluntary alter the case in the least, since in the laws of England a father is allowed to be able to forfeit for himself and for his children, and much more may he make a resignation for himself and his children, as is daily practised and allowed in law in the cutting off entails and remainders, even when the heir entail is in being, and under age. The people of Britain ought not then to suffer themselves to be imposed upon in such a case ; for though the pretender were to be owned for the lawful son of king James, yet the abdication of king James his father, and especially his own passive abdication, was as effectual an abdication in him as if he had been of age, and done it voluntarily himself, and shall be allowed to be as binding in all respects in law as an heir in possession cutting off an heir entail. If this is not so, then was the settlement of the crown upon king William and queen Mary unrighteous, and those two famous princes must be recorded in history for parricides and usurpers ; nor will it end

there, for the black charge must reach our most gracious sovereign, who must be charged with the horrible crimes of robbery and usurpation ; and not the parliament or convention of the estates at the revolution only shall be charged as rebels and traitors to their sovereign, and breakers of the great command of rendering to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, but even every parliament since, especially those who have had any hand in placing the entail of the crown upon the person of the queen, and in confirming her majesty's possession thereof since her happy accession ; and every act of parliament settling the succession on the house of Hanover must have likewise been guilty of treason and rebellion in a most unnatural manner. This is a heavy charge upon her majesty, and very inconsistent with the great zeal and affection with which all the people of Britain at this time pay their duty and allegiance to her majesty's person, and acknowledge her happy government : this may indeed be thought hard, but it is evident nothing less can be the case, and therefore those people who are so forward to plead the pretender's cause, on account of his being king James's lawful son, can do it upon no other terms than these, viz., to declare that the queen is herself an illegal governor, an usurper of another's right, and therefore ought to be deposed : or, that the hereditary right of princes is no indefeasible thing, but is subjected to the power of limitations by parliament. Thus I think the great difficulty of the pretender's being the rightful son of the late king James is over, and at an end ; that it is no part of the needful inquiry relating to the succession, since his father involved him in the fate of his abdication, and many ways rendered him incapable to reign, and out of condition to have any claim ; since the power of limiting the succession to the

crown is an undoubted right of the parliaments of England and of Scotland respectively. Moreover, his being educated a papist in France, and continuing so, was a just reason why the people of England rejected him, and why they ought to reject him, since, according to that famous vote of the commons in the convention parliament, so often printed, and so often on many accounts quoted, it is declared, That it is inconsistent with the constitution of this protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince. Vid. Votes of the Convention, Feb. 2nd, 1688. This vote was carried up by Mr. Hampden to the house of lords the same day as the resolution of all the commons of England. Now this prince being popish, not only so in his infancy, but continuing so even now, when all the acts of parliament in Britain have been made to exclude him, his turning protestant now, which his emissaries promise for him, though perhaps without his consent, will not answer at all ; for the acts of parliament, or some of them, having been past while he, though of age, remained a papist, and gave no room to expect any other, his turning protestant cannot alter those laws, suppose he should do so ; nor is it reasonable that a nation should alter an established succession to their crown whenever he shall think fit to alter or change his religion : if to engage the people of Britain to settle the succession upon him, and receive him as heir, he had thought fit to turn protestant, why did he not declare himself ready to do so before the said succession was settled by so many laws, especially by that irrevocable law of the union of the two kingdoms, and that engagement of the abjuration, of which no human power can absolve us, no act of parliament can repeal it, nor no man break it without wilful perjury.

What then is the signification to the people of

Britain whether the person called the pretender be legitimate, or no? The son of king James, or the son of a cinder-woman? The case is settled by the queen, by the legislative authority, and we cannot go back from it; and those who go about as emissaries to persuade the commons of Great Britain of the pretender having a right, go about at the same time traitorously to tell the queen's good subjects that her majesty is not our rightful queen, but an usurper,

AND

What if the Pretender should come?

OR SOME

CONSIDERATIONS

OF THE

ADVANTAGES

AND

REAL CONSEQUENCES

OF THE

PRETENDER'S

Possessing the

CROWN OF GREAT BRITAIN.

L O N D O N :

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AND WHAT IF THE PRETENDER SHOULD COME?

OR SOME CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

If the danger of the pretender is really so great as the noise which some make about it seems to suppose, if the hopes of his coming are so well grounded, as some of his friends seem to boast, it behoves us who are to be the subjects of the approaching revolution, which his success must necessarily bring with it, to apply ourselves seriously to examine what our part will be in the play, that so we may prepare ourselves to act as becomes us, both with respect to the government we are now under, and with respect to the government we may be under, when the success he promises himself shall (if ever it shall) answer his expectation.

In order to this it is necessary to state, with what plainness the circumstances of the case will admit, the several appearances of the thing itself. 1. As they are offered to us by the respective parties who are for or against it. 2. As they really appear by an impartial deduction from them both, without the least bias either to one side or other; that so the people of Britain may settle and compose their thoughts a little in this great, and at present popular, debate; and may neither be terrified nor affrighted with mischiefs, which have no reason nor foundation in them, and which give no ground for their appre-

hensions; and, on the other hand, may not promise to themselves greater things from the pretender, if he should come hither, than he will be able to perform for them. In order to this we are to consider the pretender in his person, and in his circumstances.

1. The person who we call the pretender; it has been so much debated, and such strong parties have been made on both sides to prove or disprove the legitimacy of his birth, that it seems needless here to enter into that dispute; the author of the Review, one of the most furious opposers of the name and interest of the pretender, openly grants his legitimacy, and pretends to argue against his admission from principles and foundations of his own forming; we shall let alone his principles and foundations here, as we do his arguments, and only take him by the handle which he fairly gives us, viz., that he grants the person of the pretender legitimate; if this be so, if the person we contend about be the lawful true son of king James's queen, the dispute whether he be the real son of the king will be quite out of the question; because by the laws of Great Britain, and of the whole world, a child born in wedlock shall inherit, as heir of the mother's husband, whether begotten by him, as his real father, or not. Now to come at the true design of this work, the business is, to hear, as above, what either side have to say to this point. The friends of his birth and succession argue upon it thus, if the person be lawfully begotten, that is, if born really of the body of the queen dowager, during the life of king James, he was without any exception his lawful son; if he was his lawful son, he was his lawful heir; if he was his lawful heir, why is he not our lawful king? Since hereditary right is indefeasible, and is lately acknowledged to be so; and that the doctrine of hereditary right being indefeasible,

is a church of England doctrine ever received by the church, and inseparable from the true members of the church, the contrary being the stigmatizing character of republicans, king-killers, enemies to monarchy, presbyterians, and fanatics. The enemies of the birth and succession of the person called the pretender argue upon it thus, that he is the lawfully begotten, or son born really of the body of the queen dowager of the late king James, they doubt; and they are justified in doubting of it, because no sufficient steps were taken in the proper season of it, either before his birth, to convince such persons as were more immediately concerned to know the truth of it, that the queen was really with child, which might have been done past all contradiction at that time, more than ever after; or at his birth to have such persons as were more immediately concerned, such as her present majesty, &c., thoroughly convinced of the queen being really delivered of a child, by being present at the time of the queen's labour and delivery. This being omitted, which was the affirmative, say they, which ought to have been proved, we ought not to be concerned in the proof of the negative, which by the nature of the thing could not be equally certain; and therefore we might be justly permitted to conclude, that the child was a spurious, unfair production, put upon the nation; for which reason we reject him, and have now, by a legal and just authority, deposed his father and him, and settled the succession upon the house of Hanover, being protestants.

The matter of his title standing thus, divides the nation into two parties, one side for, and the other against the succession, either of the pretender, or the house of Hanover, and either side calling the other the pretender; so that if we were to use the party's language, we must say, one side is for, and

the other side against, either of the pretenders ; what the visible probabilities of either of these claims succeeding are, is not the present case ; the nation appears at this time strangely agitated between the fears of one party, and the hopes of the other, each extenuating and aggravating, as their several parties and affections guide them, by which the public disorder is very much increased ; what either of them have to allege is our present work to inquire ; but more particularly what are the real or pretended advantages of the expected reign of him, who we are allowed to distinguish by the name of the pretender ; for his friends here would have very little to say to move us to receive him, if they were not able to lay before us such prospects of national advantages, and such views of prosperity, as would be sufficient to prevail with those who have their eyes upon the good of their country, and of their posterity after them.

That then a case so popular, and of so much consequence as this is, may not want such due supports as the nature of the thing will allow, and especially since the advantages and good consequences of the thing itself are so many, and so easy to be seen as his friends allege ; why should not the good people of Britain be made easy, and their fears be turned into peaceable satisfaction, by seeing that this devil may not be so black as he is painted ; and that the noise made of the pretender and the frightful things said of his coming, and of his being received here, may not be made greater scarecrows to us than they really are ; and after all that has been said, if it should appear that the advantages of the pretender's succession are really greater to us, and the dangers less to us, than those of the succession of Hanover, then much of their difficulties would be over, who, standing neuter as to persons, appear

against the pretender, only because they are made to believe strange and terrible things of what shall befall the nation in case of his coming in, such as popery, slavery, French power, destroying of our credit, and devouring our funds, (as that scandalous scribbler, the Review, has been labouring to suggest,) with many other things which we shall endeavour to expose to you, as they deserve. If, we say, it should appear then that the dangers and disadvantages of the pretender's succession are less than those of the house of Hanover, who, because of an act of parliament, you know must not be called pretenders, then there will remain nothing more to be said on that score, but the debate must be of the reasonableness and justice on either side, for their admittance; and there we question not but the side we are really pleading for will have the advantage.

To begin then with that most popular and affrighting argument now made use of, as the bugbear of the people, against several other things besides jacobitism, we mean French greatness. It is most evident that the fear of this must, by the nature of the thing, be effectually removed upon our receiving the pretender; the grounds and reasons why French greatness is rendered formidable to us, and so much weight supposed to be in it, that like the name of Scanderberg, we fright our very children with it, lie only in this, that we suggest the king of France being a professed enemy to the peace, and the liberty of Great Britain, will most certainly, as soon as he can a little recover himself, exercise all that formidable power to put the pretender upon us, and not only to place him upon the throne of Great Britain, but to maintain and hold him up in it, against all the opposition, either of the people of Britain or the confederate princes leagued with the elector of Hanover, who are in the interest of his

claim, or of his party. Now, it is evident, that upon a peaceable admitting this person, whom they call the pretender, to receive and enjoy the crown here, all that formidable power becomes your friend, and the being so must necessarily take off from it everything that is called terrible ; forasmuch as the greater terror and amusement the power we apprehend really carries with it, the greater is the tranquillity and satisfaction which accrues to us, when we have the friendship of that power which was so formidable to us before : the power of France is represented at this time very terrible, and the writers who speak of it apply it warm to our imaginations, as that from whence we ought justly to apprehend the impossibility of keeping out the pretender, and this, notwithstanding they allow themselves at the same time to suppose all the confederate powers of Europe to be engaged, as well by their own interest, as by the new treaties of barrier and guarantee, to support and to assist the claim of the elector of Hanover, and his party. Now if this power be so great and so formidable, as they allege, will it not, on the other side, add a proportion of increase to our satisfaction, that this power will be wholly in friendship and league with us ; and engaged to concern itself for the quieting our fears of other foreign invaders ; forasmuch as having once concerned itself to set the person of the pretender upon the throne, it cannot be supposed but it shall be equally concerned to support and maintain him in that possession, as what will mightily conduce to the carrying on the other projects of his greatness and glory with the rest of Europe ; in which it will be very much his interest to secure himself from any opposition he might meet with from this nation, or from such as might be rendered powerful by our assistance. An eminent instance we have of this

in the mighty efforts the French nation have made for planting, and preserving when planted, a grandson of France upon the throne of Spain; and how eminent are the advantages to France from the success of that undertaking; of what less consequence then would it be to the august monarchy of France, to secure and engage to himself the constant friendship and assistance of the power of Great Britain, which he would necessarily do, by the placing this person upon the throne, who would thereby in gratitude be engaged to contribute his utmost in return to the king of France, for the carrying on his glorious designs in the rest of Europe. While then we become thus necessary to the king of France, reason dictates that he would be our fast friend, our constant confederate, our ally, firmly engaged to secure our sovereign, and protect our people from the insults and attempts of all the world: being thus engaged reciprocally with the king of France, there must necessarily be an end of all the fears and jealousies, of all the apprehensions and doubts which now so amuse us, and appear so formidable to us from the prospect of the power and greatness of France; then we shall on the contrary say to the world, the stronger the king of France is, the better for the king of England; and what is best for the king, must be so for his people; for it is a most unnatural way of arguing, to suppose the interest of a king, and of his people, to be different from one another.

And is not this then an advantage incomparably greater to Britain, when the pretender shall be upon the throne, than any we can propose to ourselves in the present uneasy posture of affairs, which it must be acknowledged we are in now, when we cannot sleep in quiet, for the terrible ap-

prehensions of being overrun by the formidable power of France.

Let us also consider the many other advantages which may accrue to this nation, by a nearer conjunction, and closer union with France, such as increase of commerce, encouragement of manufactures, balance of trade; every one knows how vast an advantage we reaped by the French trade in former times, and how many hundred thousand pounds a year we gained by it, when the balance of trade between us and France ran so many millions of livres annually *against* the French by the vast exportation of our goods to them, and the small import which we received from them again, and by the constant flux of money in specie, which we drew from them every year, upon court occasions, to the inexpressible benefit of the nation, and enriching of the subject, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter more fully.

In the mean time it were to be wished that our people who are so bugbeared with words, and terrified with the name of French, French power, French greatness, and the like, as if England could not subsist, and the queen of England was not able to keep upon her throne any longer than the king of France pleased, and that her majesty was going to be a mere servant to the French king, would consider that this is an unanswerable argument for the coming of the pretender, that we may make this so formidable prince our friend, have all his power engaged in our interest, and see him going on hand in hand with us, in the securing us against all sorts of encroachments whatsoever: for if the king of France be such an invincible mighty monarch, that we are nothing in his eyes or in his hands; and that neither Britain, or all the friends Britain

can make, are able to deliver us from him ; then it must be our great advantage to have the pretender be our king, that we may be out of the danger of this formidable French power being our enemy ; and that, on the other hand, we may have so potent, so powerful, so invincible a prince be our friend. The case is evidently laid down to every common understanding, in the example of Spain ; till now, the Spaniards for many ages have been overrun, and impoverished, by their continued wars with the French, and it was not doubted but one time or other they would have been entirely conquered by the king of France, and have become a mere province of France ; whereas now, having but consented to receive a king from the hands of the invincible monarch, they are made easy as to the former danger they were always in, are now most safe under the protection of France ; and he who before was their terror, is now their safety, and being safe from him, it appears they are so from all the world.

Would it not then be the manifest advantage of this nation to be likewise secured from the dangerous power of France, and make that potentate our fast friend, who it is so apparent we are not able to resist as an enemy ? This is reducing the French power the softest way, if not the best and shortest way ; for if it does not reduce the power itself, it brings it into such a circumstance, as that all the terror of it is removed, and we embrace that as our safety and satisfaction, which really is, and ought to be, our terror and aversion ; this must of necessity be our great advantage.

How strange is it that none of our people have yet thought of this way of securing their native country from the insults of France ? Were but the pretender once received as our king, we have no

more disputes with the king of France. he has no pretence to invade or disturb us ; what a quiet world would it be with us in such a case, when the greatest monarch in the universe should be our fast friend, and be in our interest to prevent any of the inconveniences which might happen to us from the disgust of other neighbours, who may be dissatisfied with us upon other accounts. As to the terrible things which some people fright us, and themselves with, from the influence which French councils may have upon us, and of French methods of government being introduced among us ; these we ought to esteem only clamours and noise, raised by a party to amuse and affright us ; for pray let us inquire a little into them, and see if there be any reason for us to be so terrified at them ; suppose they were really what is alleged, which we hope they are not ; for example, the absolute dominion of the king of France over his subjects, is such, say our people, as makes them miserable ; well, but let us examine then, are we not already miserable for want of this absolute dominion ? Are we not miserably divided ? Is not our government miserably weak ? Are we not miserably subjected to the rabbles and mob ? Nay, is not the very crown mobbed here every now and then, into whatever our sovereign lord the people demand ? Whereas, on the contrary, we see France entirely united as one man ; no virulent scribblers there dare affront the government ; no impertinent p——ments there disturb the monarch with their addresses and representations ; no superiority of laws restrain the administration ; no insolent lawyers talk of the sacred constitution, in opposition to the more sacred prerogative ; but all with harmony and general consent agree to support the majesty of their prince, and with their lives and fortunes ; not in com-

plimenting sham addresses only, but in reality, and effectually, support the glory of their great monarch. In doing this they are all united together so firmly, as if they had but one heart and one mind, and that the king was the soul of the nation : what if they are what we foolishly call slaves to the absolute will of their prince ? That slavery to them is mere liberty ? They entertain no notion of that foolish thing liberty, which we make so much noise about ; nor have they any occasion of it, or any use for it if they had it ; they are as industrious in trade, as vigorous in pursuit of their affairs, go on with as much courage, and are as well satisfied when they have wrought hard twenty or thirty years to get a little money for the king to take away, as we are to get it for our wives and children ; and as they plant vines, and plough lands, that the king and his great men may eat the fruit thereof, they think it as great a felicity as if they eat it themselves. The badge of their poverty, which we make such a noise of, and insult them about so much, viz., their wooden shoes, their peasants make nothing of it ; they say they are as happy in their wooden shoes, as our people are with their luxury and drunkenness ; besides, do not our poor people wear iron shoes, and leather doublets, and where is the odds between them ? All the business, forsooth, is this trifle we call liberty, which rather than be plagued with so much strife and dissension about it as we are, who would be troubled with ; now it is evident *the peace* and union which we should enjoy under the like methods of government here, which we hope for under the happy government of the pretender, must needs be a full equivalent for all the pretended rights and privileges which we say we shall lose ; and how will our rights and privileges be lost ? Will they not rather be centred in our

also in gratitude to the king of France for helping us to him ; and sure we shall not decline making a suitable return to him for the kindness ; and is this anything more than common ? Did we not pay the Dutch six hundred thousand pound sterling for assisting the late king William ? And did we not immediately embark with them in the war against the king of France ? And has not that revolution cost the nation one hundred millions of British money to support it ? And shall we grudge to support the pretender and his benefactor, at the same expense, if it should be needful, for carrying on the new scheme of French liberty, which when that time comes may be in a likely and forward way to prevail over the whole world, to the general happiness of Europe ?

There seems to be but one thing more which those people, who make such a clamour at the fears of the pretender, take hold of, and this is religion ; and they tell us that not only French government, and French influence, but French religion, that is to say, popery, will come upon us ; but these people know not what they talk of, for it is evident that they shall be so far from being loaded with religion, that they will rather obtain that so long desired happiness, of having no religion at all. This we may easily make appear has been the advantage which has been long laboured for in this nation ; and as the attainments we are arrived to of that kind are very considerable already, so we cannot doubt but that if once the pretender were settled quietly among us, an absolute subjection, as well of religious principles, as civil liberties, to the disposal of the sovereign, would take place. This is an advantage so fruitful of several other manifest improvements, that though we have not room in this place to enlarge upon the particulars, we cannot

doubt but it must be a most grateful piece of news to a great part of the nation, who have long groaned under the oppressions and cruel severities of the clergy, occasioned by their own strict lives, and rigorous virtue, and their imposing such austerities and restraints upon the people; and in this particular the clamour of slavery will appear very scandalous in the nation, for the slavery of religion being taken off, and an universal freedom of vice being introduced, what greater liberty can we enjoy.

But we have yet greater advantages attending this nation by the coming of the pretender than any we have yet taken notice of; and though we have not room in this short tract to name them all, and enlarge upon them as the case may require, yet we cannot omit such due notice of them, as may serve to satisfy our readers, and convince them how much they ought to favour the coming of the pretender, as the great benefit to the whole nation; and therefore we shall begin with our brethren of Scotland; and here we may tell them, that they, of all the parts of this island, shall receive the most evident advantages, in that the setting the pretender upon the throne shall effectually set them free from the bondage they now groan under, in their abhorred subjection to England by the union, which may, no question, be declared void, and dissolved, as a violence upon the Scottish nation, as soon as ever the pretender shall be established upon the throne; a few words may serve to recommend this to the Scots, since we are very well satisfied we shall be sure to oblige every side there by it: the opposition all sides made to the union at the time of the transaction of the union in the parliament there, cannot but give us reason to think thus; and the present scruple, even the presbyterians themselves make, of taking the abjuration, if they do not, as

some pretend, assure us that the said presbyterian nonjurors are in the interest of the pretender, yet they undeniably prove, and put it out of all question, that they are ill-pleased with the yoke of the union, and would embrace every just occasion of being quietly and freely discharged from the fetters which they believe they bear by the said union; now there is no doubt to be made, but that upon the very first appearance of the pretender, the ancient kingdom of Scotland should recover her former well-known condition, we mean, of being perfectly free, and depending upon none but the king of France. How inestimable an advantage this will be to Scotland, and how effectually he will support and defend the Scots against their ancient enemies, the English, forasmuch as we have not room to enlarge upon here, we may take occasion to make out more particularly on another occasion. But it may not be forgotten here, that the union was not only justly distasteful to the Scots themselves, but also to many good men, and noble patriots of the church, some of whom entered their protests against passing and confirming, or ratifying the same, such as the late Lord Hav——sham, and the right wise and right noble E—— of Nott——, whose reasons for being against the said union, besides those they gave in the house of p——s, which we do by no means mean to reflect upon in the least in this place; we say, whose other reasons for opposing the said union were founded upon an implacable hatred to the Scots kirk, which has been established thereby: it may then not admit of any question, but that they would think it a very great advantage to be delivered from the same, as they would effectually be by the coming of the pretender; wherefore by the concurring judgment of these noble and wise persons, who on that account opposed the union,

the coming of the pretender must be an inexpressible advantage to this nation; nor is the dissolving the union so desirable a thing, merely as that union was an establishing among us a wicked schismatical presbyterian generation, and giving the sanction of the laws to their odious constitution, which we esteem (you know) worse than popery; but even on civil accounts, as particularly on account of the p——s of Scotland, who many of them think themselves egregiously maltreated, and robbed of their birthright, as p——s, and have expressed themselves so in a something public manner. Now we cannot think that any of these will be at all offended that all this new establishment should be revoked; nay, we have heard it openly said, that the Scots are so little satisfied with the union at this time, that if it were now to be put to the vote, as it was before, whether they should unite with England, or no, there would not be one man in fifteen, throughout Scotland, that would vote for it. If then it appears that the whole nation thus seems to be averse to the union, and by the coming in of this most glorious pretender that union will be in all appearance dissolved, and the nation freed from the encumbrance of it, will any Scots man, who is against the union, refuse to be for the pretender? Sure it cannot be; I know it is alleged, that they will lay aside their discontent at the union, and unite together against the pretender, because that is to unite against popery; we will not say what a few, who have their eyes in their heads, may do; but as the generality of the people there are not so well reconciled together, as such a thing requires, it is not unlikely that such a uniting may be prevented, if the pretender's friends there can but play the game of dividing them further, as they should do; to which end it cannot but be very serviceable to them to

have the real advantages of receiving the pretender laid before them, which is the true intent and meaning of the present undertaking.

But we have more and greater advantages of the coming of the pretender, and such as no question will invite you to receive him with great satisfaction and applause; and it cannot be unnecessary to inform you, for your direction in other cases, how the matter, as to real and imaginary advantage, stands with the nation in this affair; and First, The coming of the pretender will at once put us all out of debt. These abomination whigs, and these bloody wars, carried on so long for little or nothing, have, as is evident to our senses now, (whatever it was all along,) brought a heavy debt upon the nation; so that if what a known author lately published is true, the government pays now almost six millions a year to the common people for interest of money; that is to say, the usurers eat up the nation, and devour six millions yearly; which is paid, and must be paid now for a long time, if some kind turn, such as this of the coming of the pretender, or such like, does not help us out of it; the weight of this is not only great, insuperably great, but most of it is entailed for a terrible time, not only for our age, but beyond the age of our grandchildren, even for ninety-nine years; by how much the consideration of this debt is intolerable and afflicting to the last degree, by so much the greater must the obligation be to the person who will ease the nation of such a burden, and therefore we place it among the principal advantages which we are to receive from the admission of the pretender, that he will not fail to rid us of this grievance, and by methods peculiar to himself deliver us from so great a burden as these debts are now, and, unless he deliver us, are like to be to the ages to come; whither he will do this at once, by

remitting most graciously to the nation the whole payment, and consequently take off the burden, *brevi manu*, as with a sponge wiping out the infamous score, leaving it to fall as fate directs, or by prudent degrees, we know not, nor is it our business to determine it here; no doubt the doing it with a jerk, as we call it, *comme une coup de grace*, must be the most expeditious way; nay, and the kindest way of putting the nation out of its pain; for lingering deaths are counted cruel; and though *une coup d'eclat* may make an impression for the present, yet the astonishment is soonest over; besides, where is the loss to the nation in this sense? though the money be stopped from the subject on one hand, if it be stopped to the subjects on the other, the nation loses or gains nothing: we know it will be answered, that it is unjust, and that thousands of families will be ruined, because they who lose, will not be those who gain. But what is this to the purpose in a national revolution; unjust! alas! is that an argument? Go and ask the pretender! Does not he say you have all done unjustly by him? and since the nation in general loses nothing, what obligation has he to regard the particular injury that some families may sustain? And yet further, is it not remarkable, that most part of the money is paid by the cursed party of whigs, who from the beginning officiously appeared to keep him from his right? And what obligation has he upon him to concern himself for doing them right in particular, more than other people? But to avoid the scandal of partiality, there is another thought offers to our view, which the nation is beholding to a particular author for putting us in mind of; if it be unjust that we should suppose the pretender shall stop the payment on both sides, because it is doing the whigs wrong, since the tories, who perhaps being

chiefly landed men, pay the most taxes; then, to keep up a just balance, he need only continue the taxes to be paid in, and only stop the annuities and interest which are to be paid out. Thus both sides having no reason to envy or reproach one another with hardships, or with suffering unequally; they may every one lose their proportion, and the money may be laid up in the hands of the new sovereign, for the good of the nation.

This being thus happily proposed, we cannot pass over the great advantages which would accrue to this nation in such a case, by having such a mass of money laid up in the exchequer at the absolute command of a most gracious French sovereign. But as these things are so glorious, and so great, as to admit of no complete explication in this short tract, give us leave, O people of Great Britain, to lay before you a little sketch of your future felicity, under the auspicious reign of such a glorious prince, as we all hope, and believe, the pretender to be. 1. You are to allow, that by such a just and righteous shutting up of the exchequer in about seven years' time, he may be supposed to have received about forty millions sterling from his people, which not being to be found in specie in the kingdom, will, for the benefit of circulation, enable him to treasure up infinite funds of wealth in foreign banks, a prodigious mass of foreign bullion, gold, jewels, and plate, to be ready in the tower, or elsewhere, to be issued upon future emergency, as occasion may allow. This prodigious wealth will necessarily have these happy events, to the infinite satisfaction and advantage of the whole nation, and the benefit of which I hope none will be so unjust, or ungrateful, to deny. 1. It will for ever after deliver this nation from the burden, the expense, the formality, and the tyranny, of parliaments. No one can perhaps at the first

view be rightly sensible of the many advantages of this article, and from how many mischiefs it will deliver this nation. 1. How the country gentlemen will be no longer harassed to come, at the command of every court occasion, and upon every summons by the prince's proclamation, from their families and other occasions, whether they can be spared from their wives, &c., or no, or whether they can trust their wives behind them, or no; nay, whether they can spare money or no for the journey, or whether they must come carriage paid or no; then they will no more be unnecessarily exposed to long and hazardous journeys, in the depth of winter, from the remotest corners of the island, to come to London, just to give away the country's money, and go home again; all this will be dispensed with by the kind and gracious management of the pretender, when he, God bless us, shall be our more gracious sovereign. 2. In the happy consequence of the demise of parliaments, the country will be eased of that intolerable burden of travelling to elections, sometimes in the depth of winter, sometimes in the middle of their harvest, whenever the writs of elections arbitrarily summons them. 3. And with them the poor gentlemen will be eased of that abominable grievance of the nation, viz., the expense of elections, by which so many gentlemen of estates have been ruined, so many innocent people, of honest principles before, have been debauched, and made mercenary, partial, perjured, and been blinded with bribes to sell their country and liberties to who bids most. It is well known how often, and yet how in vain, this distemper has been the constant concern of parliaments for many ages, to cure, and to provide sufficient remedies for. Now if ever the effectual remedy for this is found out, to the inexpressible advantage of the whole nation; and this

perhaps is the only cure for it that the nature of the disease will admit of ; what terrible havock has this kind of trade made among the estates of the gentry, and the morals of the common people ? 4. How also has it kept alive the factions and divisions of the country people, keeping them in a constant agitation, and in triennial commotions ? So that what with forming new interests, and cultivating old, the heats and animosities never cease among the people. But once set the pretender upon the throne, and let the funds be but happily stopped, and paid into his hands, that he may be in no more need of a parliament, and all these distempers will be cured as effectually as a fever is cured by cutting off the head, or as a halter cures the bleeding at the nose. How infatuated then is this nation, that they should so obstinately refuse a prince, by the nature of whose circumstances, and the avowed principles of whose party, we are sure to obtain such glorious things, such inestimable advantages, things which no age, no prince, no attempt of parties, or endeavour, though often aimed at of ministers of state, have ever been able to procure for us. 2. This amassing of treasure, by the stopping the funds on one hand, and the receiving the taxes on the other, will effectually enable the pretender to set up, and effectually maintain, that glorious, and so often-desired method of government, *au coup de canon*, *Anglice*, a standing army. This we have the authority of the ancient borough of Carlisle, that it is the safety of the prince, and the glory of the nation, as appears by their renowned address to king James II. Then we should see a new face of our nation, and Britain would no more be a naked nation, as it has formerly been ; then we should have numerous and gallant armies surrounding a martial prince ; ready to

make the world, as well as his own subjects, tremble; then our inland counties would appear full of royal fortifications, citadels, forts, and strong towns; the beauty of the kingdom, and awe of factious rebels: it is a strange thing that this refractory people of ours could never be made sensible how much it is for the glory and safety of this nation that we should be put into a posture of defence against ourselves: it has been often alleged, that this nation can never be ruined but with their own consent: if then we are our own enemies, is it not highly requisite that we should be put in a position to have our own ruin prevented? And that since it is apparent we are no more fit to be trusted with our own liberties, having a natural and a national propensity to destroy and undo ourselves, and may be brought to consent to our own ruin, we should have such princes as for the future know how to restrain us, and how reasonable is it to allow them forces to do so?

We might enlarge here upon the great and certain advantages of this best of governments, a standing army; we might go back to the Persian, Grecian, and Roman empires, which had never arrived to such a pitch of glory if the people and nations whom they subdued had been able to nose them with such trifles as what we call constitution, national right, ancient privileges, and the like; we might descend also to particular advantages of government, which it is hoped we may attain to in Britain when the pretender arrives, some of which are grown obsolete, and out of use, by custom, and long possession of those troublesome things called liberties; among these may be reckoned,

1. The whole kingdom will be at once eased of that ridiculous feather-cap's expense of militia and trained-bands, which serve for little else but to

justify the picking the peoples' pockets, with an annual tax of trophy-money, and every now and then putting the city of London and parts adjacent, to ten thousand pound charge, to beat drums, and shoot muskets, for nothing ; when, on the contrary, you shall in the blessed revolution we now invite you to, have all this done gratis, by the standing troops kept constantly in pay ; and your lieutenancy may lay down their commissions among the rest of non-significants of the nation.

2. You shall be for ever out of danger of being ridden again by the mob, your meeting-houses shall no more be the subject of the enraged rabbles ; nor shall the bank of England desire the drums to beat at midnight to raise a guard for Grocers' hall ; your new monarch will suffer none to insult or plunder the city but himself ; and as the city itself shall never want soldiers, (how should it, when the whole kingdom shall become a garrison ?) the money in the bank shall always be defended by a strong guard, who shall, whenever there is any danger of its being too safe, convey it, for its eminent security, from Grocers'-alley to the Tower, or to the exchequer, where it shall not fail to be kept for the advantage of the public.

3. Again ; upon this happy change we shall immediately be delivered from that most infamous practice of stock-jobbing, of which so much has been said to so little purpose ; for the funds being turned all into one general stock, and the prince being himself your security, you may even write upon all your companies this general phrase, viz., No transfer, as they do when the books are shut up at the bank, or East-India house ; so as all the rivers of water are swallowed up in the sea, as one ocean, to which they are all tending, so all these petty cheats will be engulfed at once in the general

ocean of state trick, and the Exchange-alley men may justly be said to buy the bear-skin ever after.

4. When (which is a blessing we fear we cannot hope for before) we may expect to be delivered from the throng of virulent and contumacious libels which now infest our streets; and the libellers themselves being most exemplarily punished, for a terror to the rest, will not dare to affront the government with ballads and balderdash; if an impudent fellow dares lift up his pen against the authority and power of his prince, he shall instantly feel the weight of that power to crush him, which he ought before to have feared; and pamphleteers shall then not be whipped and pilloried, but hanged; and when two or three of them have suffered that way, it is hoped those wholesome severities may put an effectual stop to the noise and clamour they now make in the nation; above all, the hands of the government will then be set free from the fetters of law; and it shall not be always necessary for the ministers of state to proceed by all the forms of the courts of justice, in such cases, by which the scribblers of the age pretend to stand it out against the government, and put their own construction upon their libels. But when these happy days arrive, juries and judges shall find and determine in these and all other cases, bring verdicts, and give sentence, as the prince in his royal justice shall direct,

We might enter here upon a long list of other happy circumstances we shall all arrive to, and of great advantages not here named, which the coming in of the pretender shall infallibly bring us to the enjoyment of, particularly in matters of religion, civil right, property, and commerce; but the needful brevity of this tract will not admit of it, we shall

only add one thing more, which gives weight to all the rest, viz., that the certainty of these things, and of their being the natural consequences of the bringing in the pretender, adds to the certain felicity of that reign. This sums up the happiness of the pretender's reign ; we need not talk of security, as the Review has done, and pretend he is not able to give us security for the performance of anything he promises ; every man that has any sense of the principles, honour, and justice of the pretender, his zeal for the Roman catholic cause, his gratitude to his benefactor, the French king, and his love to the glory and happiness of his native country, must rest satisfied of his punctually performing all these great things for us ; to ask him security, would be not to affront him only, but to affront the whole nation ; no man can doubt him ; the nature of the thing allows that he must do us all that kindness ; he cannot be true to his own reason without it ; wherefore this treaty executes itself, and appears so rational to believe, that whoever doubts it may be supposed to doubt even the veracity of James the Just.

What unaccountable folly then must those people be guilty of, who stand so much in the way of their own and their country's happiness, as to oppose, or pretend to argue against, the receiving this glorious prince, and would be for having Dutch men and foreigners forsooth to come, and all under the notion of their being protestants ? To avoid and detect which fallacy, we shall in our next essay enter into the examination of the religion and orthodox principles of the person of the pretender, and doubt not to make it out, for the satisfaction of all tender consciences, that he is a true protestant of the church of England, established by law,

and that in the very natural primitive sense of that phrase as it was used by his royal predecessor, of famous and pious memory, Charles II. ——— and as such, no doubt, he will endeavour for the recovery of the crown, which crown, if he obtains it, you see what glorious things he may do for himself, and us.

Quam si non tenuit magnis tamen excidit ausis.

A N A N S W E R

TO A

Q U E S T I O N

That Nobody thinks of,

VIZ.

But what if the QUEEN should die?

L O N D O N:

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AN ANSWER

TO A QUESTION, &c.

THAT we are to have a peace, or that the peace is made, what sort of peace, or how it has been brought about; these are questions the world begins to have done with, they have been so much, so often, and to so little purpose banded about, and tossed like a shuttlecock, from one party to another; the parties themselves begin to want breath to rail and throw scandal. Roper and Ridpath, like two Tom T—men, have thrown night-dirt at one another so long, and groped into so many Jakes's up to their elbows to find it, that they stink now in the nostrils of their own party. They are become perfectly nauseous to read; the nation is surfeited of them, and the people begin to be tired with ill-using one another. Would any tolerable face appear upon things, we might expect the people would be inclined to be easy; and were the eyes of some great men open, they may see this was the opportunity they never had before, to make the nation easy, and themselves safe. The main thing which agitates the minds of men now, is the protestant succession and the pretender. Much pains have been taken on both sides to amuse the world about this remaining dispute; one side to make us believe it is safe, and the other to convince us it is

in danger. Neither side hath been able to expatiate upon the part they affirm. Those who say the protestant succession is secure, have not yet shown us any step taken, since these new transactions, for its particular security. Those who say it is in danger, have not so clearly determined, even among themselves, from what particular head of public management that danger chiefly proceeds. Both these uncertainties serve to perplex us, and to leave the thing more undetermined than consists with the public ease of the people's minds. To contribute something to that ease, and bring those whose place it is to consider of ways to make the people easy in this case, this work is made public. Possibly the question propounded may not meet with a categorical answer. But this is certain, it shall show you more directly what is the chief question which the substance of things before us is like to turn upon; and to which all our questions seem to tend. Were the great difficulty of the succession brought to a narrow compass, though we might spend fewer words about it, we should sooner come to a direct answer. Before I come to the great and chief question upon which this affair so much seems to turn, it seems needful to put the previous question upon which so much debate has been among us, and let that be examined. This previous question is this: Is there any real danger of the protestant succession? Is there any danger that the pretender shall be brought in upon us? Is there any danger of popery and tyranny, by restoring the son, as they call him, of abdicated king James? This is the previous question, as we may now call it. It is well known that there are some people among us, who are so far from allowing that there is any such danger, as the said question mentions, that they will have it to be a token of disaffection to the go-

vernment to put the question ; and are for loading whoever shall offer to start such a question, with characters and party-marks odious to good men ; such as incendiary, promoter of discontents, raiser of faction, divider of the people, and the like : names which the writer of these sheets, at the same time, both contemns and abhors. He cannot see that he is any enemy to the queen, in inquiring as diligently as possible, whether there are any attempts to depose her, or dangerous prospects of bringing in the hated rival of her glory and dominion. It is so far from that, that it is apparently the duty of every true subject of her majesty, to inquire seriously, whether the public peace, the queen's safety, her throne, or her person, is in any danger from the wicked design of her, and her people's enemies. Wherefore, and for the joint concern every protestant Briton has in this thing, I shall make no difficulty, plainly and seriously to state, and to answer this previous question, viz., Whether there is any danger of the protestant succession from the present measures, and from the present people concerned ? I am not ignorant of what has been said by some, to prove that the present ministry cannot be suspected of having any view to the pretender in any of their measures. The best reason which I have seen given upon that subject, is, that it is not their interest ; and that as we have not found them fools that are blind to their own interest ; that either do not understand, or pursue it. This we find handled sundry ways, by sundry authors, and very much insisted upon as a foundation for us to build upon. We shall give our thoughts upon it with plainness, and without fear or favour. Good manners require we should speak of the ministry with all due regard to their character and persons. This a tract designed to

inquire seriously of a weighty and essential, not a trifling thing, which requires but a trifling examination; nor shall it be handled here with satire and scurrility. We approve neither of the flatteries of one side, nor the insultings of the other. We shall readily and most willingly join with those who are of opinion, that it is not the interest of the ministry to be for the pretender; and that the ministry are not blind to, or careless of, their own interest; and consequently, that the ministry cannot be for the pretender. This I hope may be called a direct answer. When I say, 'cannot,' I must not be understood potentially, that they have no moral capacity; but they cannot without such inconsistencies, contradictions, and improbable things happening in, which render it highly irrational so much as to suppose it of them. To shut the door against any possibility of cavil, it may be needful also to take it with us as we go, what we mean by the words 'be for' the pretender; and this can be no otherwise understood, than to have a design, however remote, and upon whatever views, to bring him in to possess the throne of these kingdoms. The matter then being laid down thus, as sincerely and plainly as possible; we come to the question point-blank, and think it our duty to say with the greatest sincerity, that we do not believe the ministry are in any kind, or with any prospect, near or remote, acting for, or with a design or view to bring in the pretender. Having granted this, we must, however, to prevent any breaking in by way of cavil on one hand, or triumph on the other, subjoin immediately, that we do not in the least grant by this that the protestant succession is in no danger, even from several of the measures now taken in the world. It is far from any reflection upon the ministry, to say, that however they

may act upon a right sincere principle for the protestant succession in all they do, which, as above, we profess to believe; yet that many of the tools they make use of, are of another make, and have no edge to cut any other way; no thoughts to move them towards any other end; no other centre, which they can have any tendency to; that the pretender's interest is the magnet which draws them by its secret influence to point to him as their pole; that they have their aim at his establishment here, and own it to be their aim; and as they are not shy to profess it among themselves, so their conduct in many things makes it sufficiently public. This is not meant as any reflection upon the ministry for making use of such men: the late ministry did the same, and every ministry will, and must employ men sometimes, not as they always join with them in their politic principles, but as either the men are found useful in their several employments, or as the ministry may be under other circumstances, which makes it necessary to them to employ them. Nor, as the Review well enough observed, does it follow that because the ministry have employed, or joined with jacobites in the public affairs, that therefore they must have done it with a jacobite principle. But let the ministry employ these men by what necessity, or upon what occasion they will, though it may not follow that the ministry are therefore for the pretender, yet it does not also follow that there is no danger of the protestant succession from the employing those sort of people: For, what if the queen should die?

The ministry, it is hoped, are established in the interest of their queen and country; and therefore it has been argued, that supposing the ministry had the pretender in their eye, yet that it

is irrational to suggest that they can have any such view during the life of her present majesty. Nay, even those professed jacobites, who we spoke of just now, cannot be so ungrateful to think of deposing the queen, who has been so bountiful, so kind, so exceeding good to them, as in several cases to suffer them to be brought into the management of her own affairs, when by their character they might have been thought dangerous, even to her person; thus winning and engaging them by her bounty, and the confidence that has been placed in them, not to attempt anything to her prejudice, without the most monstrous ingratitude, without flying in the face of all that sense of honour and obligation, which it is possible for men of common sense to entertain. And it can hardly be thought that even papists themselves, under the highest possessions of their religious zeal, can conquer the native aversions they must have to such abominable ingratitude, or to think of bringing in the pretender upon this protestant nation, even while the queen shall be on the throne. But though this may, and some doubt that also, tie up their hands during the queen's life, yet they themselves give us but small reason to expect anything from them afterward; and it will be hard to find anybody to vouch for them then. These very jacobites, papists, and professed enemies to the revolution, may be supposed upon these pretensions to be quiet, and offer no violence to the present establishment while her majesty has the possession, and while that life lasts, to which they are so much indebted for her royal goodness and clemency. But what would they do if the queen should die?

Come we next to the French king. We are told, that not the French king only, but even the

whole French nation are wonderfully forward to acknowledge the obligation they are under, to the justice and favour which they have received from her majesty, in the putting an end to the war; a war which lay heavy upon them, and threatened the very name of the French nation with ruin, and much more threatened the glory of the French court, and of their great monarch, with an entire overthrow, a total eclipse. A war which, by their own confession, it was impossible for them long to have supported the expenses of, and which by the great superiority of the allies, became dreadful to them, and that every campaign more than other; a war which they were in such pain to see the end of, that they tried all the powers and courts in Christendom, who were the least neutral, to engage a mediation in order to a treaty, and all in vain; and a war, which if her majesty had not inclined to put an end to, must have ended perhaps to the disadvantage and confusion of both France and Spain, if not of all Christendom. The obligations the French are under for the bringing this war to so just and honourable a conclusion, are not at all concealed. Nay, the French themselves have not been backward to make them public. The declarations made by the French king of his sincerity in the overtures made for a general peace, the protestations of his being resolved to enter into an entire confidence, and a league offensive and defensive with the queen's majesty, for the preservation of the peace of Christendom, his recognition of her majesty's just right to the crown, his entering into articles to preserve the union, acknowledging the ninth electorate in favour of the house of Hanover, and joining in the great affair of the protestant succession. As these all convince the world of the necessity his affairs were reduced to, and the great

advantages accruing to him by a peace ; so they seem to be so many arguments against our fears of the French entering into any engagements against the crown of Britain, much less any against the possession of the queen during her life. Not that the honour and sincerity of the king of France is a foundation fit for her majesty or her people to have any dependence upon ; and the fraction of former treaties by that court when the glory of that monarch, or his particular views of things has dictated such opportunity to him as he thought fit to close with, are due cautions to us all not to have any dependence of that kind. But the state of his affairs, and the condition the war has reduced him to, may give us some ground to think ourselves safe on that side. He knows what power he has taken off from his enemies in making peace with her majesty ; he knows very well with what loss he sits down, how his affairs are weakened, and what need he has to take breath after so terrible a war ; besides the flame such an action would kindle again in Europe ; how it would animate this whole British nation against him, in such a manner, and endanger bringing in a new war, and perhaps a new confederacy upon him so violently, and that before he would be in a condition to match them ; that no one can reasonably suppose the French king will run the hazard of it. And these things may tend to make some people easier than ordinary in the affair of the succession ; believing that the French king stands in too much need of the favour of the queen of Great Britain, whose power it well behoves him to keep in friendship with him, and whose nation he will be very cautious of provoking a third time, as he has already done twice, to his fatal experience. All these things, we say, may seem pretty well to assure us that nothing is to be feared on that side so long

as her majesty lives to sit upon the British throne. But all leaves our grand question unanswered; and though we may argue strongly for the French king's conduct while the present reign continues, yet few will say, What he will do if the queen should die?

Nay, we may even mention the pretender himself, if he has any about him whose councils are fit to be depended upon, and can direct him to make a wise and prudent judgment of his own affairs; if he acts by any scope of policy, and can take his measures with any foresight; most easy it is for them to see that it must be in vain for him to think of making any attempt in Britain, during the life of the queen; or to expect to depose her majesty, and set himself up. The French power, upon which he has already in vain depended, as it has not hitherto been able to serve him, or his father, but that their exile has continued now above twenty-four years, so much less can he be able to assist him now while he has been brought as it were to kneel to the British court, to put an end for him to this cruel destructive war; the reason is just spoken to, viz., that this would be to rekindle that flame which he has gotten so lately quenched, and which cost him so much art, so much management, so much submission to the allies to endeavour the quenching of before. To attack the queen of Great Britain now in behalf of the pretender, would not only be in the highest degree ungrateful, perfidious, and dishonourable; but would for ever make the British court, as well as the whole nation, his violent and implacable enemies; but would also involve him again in a new war with all Europe, who would very gladly fall in again with Britain to pull down more effectually the French power, which has so long been a terror to its neighbours; so that the pretender can expect no help from the king of

France. As to what the pope, the Spaniard, and a few petty popish powers, who might pretend upon a religious prospect to assist him, and with whose aid, and the assistance of his party here, he may think fit to hazard an attempt here for the crown, it is evident, and his own friends will agree in it, that while the queen lives, it is nonsense, and ridiculous for them to attempt it; that it would immediately arm the whole nation against them, as one man; and in human probability, it would, like as his supposed father was served at the revolution, be the ruin of his whole interest, and blow him at once quite out of the nation. I believe that there are very few who alarm themselves much with the fears of the pretender, from the apprehension of his own strength from abroad, or from his own party and friends at home here, were they once sure that he should receive no assistance from the king of France. If then the king of France cannot be reasonably supposed either to be inclined, or be in a condition to appear for him, or act in his behalf, during the life of the queen; neither can the pretender, say some, unless he is resolved to ruin all his friends, and at last to ruin himself, make any attempt of that kind during her majesty's life. But what if the queen should die?

Having then viewed the several points of the nation's compass, whence our danger of jacobite plots and projects against the protestant succession may be expected to come, let us now inquire a little of the state of the nation, that we make a right estimate of our condition, and may know what to trust to in cases of difficulty, as they lie before us. In doing this, as well to avoid giving offence to the people now in power, as to the entering into the quarrels which engage the present contending parties in this divided nation; we shall allow, however

some may think fit to question it, the main debate ; and grant this for the present as a fundamental, viz., That we are in no danger of the pretender, during this queen's reign, or during this ministry's administration under her majesty ; and avoiding all contention of that kind, shall allow our condition to be safe in every article as we go along, for so long as the queen lives, referring the observation of things in every head, to those who can answer the main question in our title, viz., But what if the queen should die ?

First of all, it may be noticed, that the present safety of this nation, whether we respect liberty, religion, property, or 'public safety and prosperity, depends upon this one fundamental, viz., that alluding reverently to that text of scripture, we are all built upon the foundation of the late revolution, established law and right being the chief cornerstone. By this it is that her majesty is made our queen, the entail of the crown being reserved in the remainder to her majesty in the act of settlement made at the filling up the vacant throne, and by all those subsequent acts which her majesty's title was confirmed by, during the life of the late king. This revolution is that upon which the liberties and religion of this nation, were rebuilt after the conflagration that was made of them in the calamitous times of king Charles II., and king James II., and from hence to the love of liberty which is found almost to be naturally placed in the hearts of true Britons ; and upon the view whereof they have acted all along in the late war, and in all their transactions at home has obtained the title of a "revolution principle." Noting this then, as above, that her majesty is our queen by virtue of the revolution, and that during her reign, that establishment alone must be the foundation of all her admi-

nistration ; this must effectually secure us against any apprehension that the persons acting under her majesty, can act in behalf of the pretender during her majesty's life ; for that they must immediately overthrow the throne, turn the queen out of it, and renounce the revolution, upon which her majesty's possession is established : as the revolution therefore is the base upon which the throne of her majesty's possession is established ; so her majesty, and all that act under her, are obliged to act upon the foot of the said revolution, even *will* they, *nil* they ; or else they sink immediately out of rightful power to act at all ; her majesty's title would fall to the ground, their own commissions would from that hour be void ; they must declare their royal mistress and benefactress a subject to the pretender, and all her pretences of rightful possession injurious, and an usurpation. These things being so plain, that he that runs may read them, seem to stop all our mouths from so much as any suggestion that anybody can attempt to bring in the pretender upon us during the life of her present majesty. But what if the queen should die ?

Subsequent to the revolution, many essential things are formed by our parliaments and government for the public good, on the foundation of which much of the present peace of the nation is founded ; and while the said revolution-foundation stands fast, there is good ground to believe those essential points shall be preserved. If then we are satisfied that the revolution principle shall subsist as long as the queen lives, then for so long we may have good ground to believe we shall enjoy all those advantages and benefits which we received from the said revolution. But still when we look back upon those dear privileges, the obtaining of which has cost so much money, and the maintain-

ing of which has cost so much blood, we must with a deep sigh reflect upon the precarious circumstances of the nation, whose best privileges hang uncertain upon the nice and tender thread of royal mortality, and say we are happy while these last, and these may last while her majesty shall live. But what if the queen should die?

Let us descend to some other particulars of those blessings which we do enjoy purely as the effect of the revolution, and examine in what posture we stand with respect to them, and what assurance we have of their continuance: and first, as to TOLERATION. This was the greatest and first blessing the nation felt after the immediate settlement of the crown; which was established by virtue of the revolution engagement, mentioned in the prince of Orange's declaration. The design of this law, as it was to give liberty for the worship of God to such dissenters as could not conform to the church of England, and to give ease to tender consciences, so as by the law itself is expressed; it was to ease the minds of their majesties' subjects, and to give general quiet to the nation, whose peace had been frequently disturbed by the violence of persecution. We have seen frequent assurances given of the inviolable preservation of this toleration by her majesty from the throne in her speeches to the parliament; and during her majesty's reign, we have great reason to hope the quiet of the poor people shall not be broken by either repealing that law, or invading the intent and meaning of it while in force; and there are a great many reasons to hope that the present ministry are so far convinced of the necessity of the said toleration, in order to preserve the peace, and the common neighbourhood of people, that they can have no thought of breaking in upon it; or any way making the

people who enjoy it, uneasy. Nay, the rather we believe this, because the ferment such a breach would put the whole nation into, is not the safest condition the government can be in upon any account; and as the ministry cannot be supposed to desire to give uneasiness and provocation to the commons, but rather to keep them easy and quiet, and prevent the enemies of the present management from having any handle to take hold of to foment distractions and disturbances among the people; it cannot be thought that they will push at the toleration, so as to deprive the people of so considerable a thing. But after the present happy establishment shall have received such a fatal blow as that will be of the queen's death; and when popish pretenders, and French influences shall prevail, it may well be expected then, that not toleration of dissenters only, but even of the whole protestant religion may be in danger to be lost; so that however secure we are of the free enjoyment of liberty of religion during the queen's life, we may be very well allowed to ask this question with respect to, not toleration only, but the church of England also, viz., what will become of them, If the queen should die?

From toleration in England, come we to the constitution of religious affairs in Scotland; and here we have different views from what the case in England affords us; the powerful interest of jacobitism, if it may be said to be formidable anywhere, is so there. The enemies of the revolution are all the implacable enemies of the church establishment there: nay, many thousands are the declared enemies of the revolution, and of the queen's being upon the throne, from a mere implacable aversion to the presbyterian kirk, which is erected and established by that very revolution which has set

the queen upon the throne. The union, which has yet further established that presbyterian kirk, is for that reason the aversion of the same people, as it is the aversion of the jacobites, by being a further confirmation of the Hanover succession, and a further fixing the queen upon the throne. Now as it is sure, that as before, while the queen lives, and the revolution influence carries its usual force in the kingdoms now united, the presbyterian kirk must and will remain, and all the little encroachments which have been made upon the kirk, as it may be observed, though they have created uneasiness enough, yet they still seem to suppose that the establishment itself cannot be overthrown. The union and the revolution settlement remain in Scotland, and must remain as is said: while the queen lives we can have no apprehensions of them; the reasons are given above; and as we said before, we are to take them for granted in this discourse, to avoid other cavils. While then the revolution and the union are to be the foundation of the administration in Scotland, the presbyterian established church government there must also remain as the only legal kirk constitution, and so long we can entertain no fears of anything on that account. But what if the queen should die?

From such religious concerns as affect presbyterians, and other sectaries, or dissenters, as we call them; let us take a look at the remote danger of the church of England. We have had a great deal of distraction in the time of the late ministry, about the danger of the church; and as it appears by the memorial of the church of England, published in those times, and reprinted since; by the sermons of Dr. Sacheverell, and the eminent speeches at his trial, that danger was more especially suggested to come from the increase

of dissenters here, the ministry of the whigs, and the establishing presbyterianism in the north of Britain. These things being in a great measure now overthrown by the late change of the ministry, and the new methods taken in the management of the public affairs, the people, who were then supposed to aim at overthrowing the ministry of those whigs, are pleased to assure as of the safety and flourishing condition of the church, now more than ever; while the other party, taking up the like cry of the danger of the church, tells us, that now a real visible appearance of danger to the church is before us; and that not only to the church of England as such, but even to the whole interest and safety of the protestant religion in Britain; that this danger is imminent and unavoidable from the great growth and increase of popery, and professed jacobitism in the nation. This indeed they give but too great demonstrations of from the spreading of popish agents among us, whose professed employment it is to amuse, and impose upon the poor country people, as well in matters of jacobitism, as of religion; and the great success these emissaries of Satan have obtained in several parts of Britain; but especially in the north. Now though we cannot but acknowledge but that much of this alarm is justly grounded, and that the endeavours of popish and jacobite agents and emissaries in divers parts of Britain are too apparently successful, yet as wise men could never see into the reality of such danger, as was by some people pretended to be impending over the church in the time of the late ministry, so neither can we allow that popery is so evidently at the door at this time, as that we should be apprehensive of having the church of England immediately transversed, and the protest-

ant religion in Britain : and one great reason for this opinion is, that her majesty, who is a zealous professor of the protestant religion, and has been bred up in the bosom of the church of England, is so rooted in principle, and has declared from her very infancy such horror and aversion to popery, that it cannot enter into any true protestant thoughts to apprehend anything of that kind, while her majesty lives. But, Lord have mercy upon us! What if the queen should die?

From religious matters, come we next to consider civil interest, liberties, privileges, properties; the great article that in the late revolution went always coupled in the nation's negative with that of religion, as if they were woven together; and was always cried upon by the mob in one breath, viz., No popery, no slavery. The first of these concerns our civil interest; such as the public credit, by the occasions of a long and expensive war, and to prevent levying severe taxes for the carrying on the war, such as would be grievous to trade, oppressive to the poor, and difficult to be paid. The parliament for the ease of the subjects, thought fit, rather to lay funds of interest to raise money upon, by way of loan; establishing those interests, payable as annuities, and annual payments for the benefit of those who advanced their money for the public service. And to make these things current, that the public credit might be sacred, and the people be made free to advance their money; all possible assurances of parliament have been given, that the payments of interests and annuities shall be kept, punctually, and exactly according to the acts of parliament, that no misapplications of the money shall be made, or converting the money received upon one, to make good the deficiency of the other; and hitherto the injunctions of that kind

have been exactly observed, and the payments punctually made, which we call the credit of the nation. At the first of the late change, when the new ministry began to act, the fright the people were put in upon the suggestion of some, that all the parliamentary funds should be wiped off with a sponge, was very considerable; and the credit of those funds sunk exceedingly with but the bare apprehension of such a blow, the sums being infinitely great, and the number of indigent families being incredibly many, whose whole substance lay in those securities, and whose bread depended upon those interests being punctually paid; but wiser men saw quickly there was no ground for those fears; that the new ministry stood upon a foot that could no more be supported without the public credit, than those that went before them; that especially while they were under a necessity of borrowing further sums, they behoved to secure the punctual paying of the old; and by making the people entirely easy, not only take from them the apprehensions they were under of losing what they lent already, but make them forward and willing to advance more to this purpose, they not only endeavoured to give the people all satisfaction that their money was safe, and that the funds laid by the parliament in the former ministry should be kept sacred, and the payments punctually made, but took care to obtain parliamentary securities, by real funds to be settled for the payment of those debts contracted by the former ministry; and for which no provision was made before. This was the establishment of a fund for payment of the interests of the navy debt, ordnance, victualling, transport, &c., to the value of seven or eight millions; which is the substance of what we now call the South-sea stock. By this means the public credit, which it

was suggested would receive such a blow, at the Change as that it should never recover again and that it would be impossible for the new ministry to raise any needful sums of money for the carrying on the war, or for the public occasions, recovered itself so as that the government hath ever since found it easy to borrow whatever sums they thought fit to demand, in the same manner as before. Now that these loans are safe, no man that weighs the circumstances of the ministry and government, and the circumstances of the people, can doubt; the first being in a constant necessity of supporting the public credit for the carrying on the public affairs, on any sudden emergency that may happen; and being liable to the resentment of parliament, if any open infraction should be made upon the funds, which touches so nearly the honour of the parliaments, and the interest of most of the best families in the nation. While this is the case, we think it is not rational to believe that any ministry will venture to attack parliamentary credit, in such a manner; and this will eminently be the case as long as her majesty sits on the throne. Nor can a thing so barefacedly tyrannical and arbitrary, and, above all, dishonourable and unjust, be suggested, as possible to be attempted in the reign of so just and conscientious a prince; so that we may be very willing to allow that there is not the least danger of the public faith being broken, the public credit lost, the public funds stopped, or the money being misapplied. No cheat, no sponge while her majesty lives. But, alas for us! What if the queen should die?

From this piece of civil right, come we to those things we call liberties, and privileges. These may indeed be joined in some respects; but as we are engaged in speaking particularly to such points,

wherein our present dangers do, or do not appear ; it is proper to mention them apart. Privileges may be distinguished here from liberties, as they respect affairs of trade, corporations, parliaments, and legislature, &c. Liberty, as they respect laws, establishments, declared right, and such like. As to the first, from the revolution to this time, they have not only been confirmed, which we had before, but many privileges added to the people, some of which are essential to the well-being of the kingdom. All the *quo warrantos* against corporation privileges, the high commission court against the church's privileges extending prerogative in detriment of the subject's natural right, and many such things, which were fatal to the privileges of this protestant nation, were laid aside, and received their just condemnation in the revolution ; and not so only, but the privileges obtained since the revolution by consent of parliament, are very considerable ; such as the toleration to this part of Britain, and the establishment of the church of Scotland ; for the north part ; in matters of religion ; such as the triennial election of parliaments ; in civil affairs, such as the several corporations granted upon really useful foundations in trade ; as the bank company, &c., and such like. These and many more, which may be named, and which these are named only as heads of, are secured to us by law ; and those laws yet again made sure to us by the honour and veracity of her majesty, and as long as her majesty's life is spared to these nations, we have great reason to believe we shall rather increase than lose our privileges. But what if the queen should die ?

Our LIBERTIES, which come next in order, may be summed up in what we call legal, and native right ; or such as by the natural consequence of a free nation, and a just government ; or such as by

mutual assent and consent of sovereign and subject, are become the legal right of the latter. These, needless to be enumerated here, are summed up into one; or are expressly enacted by statute law, and thereby become fundamental to the constitution. These receive no wound, but one of these two ways, either by open infraction and contempt of right, or by dispensing arbitrary power; both of which, by the many assurances from the throne, by the constant jealousies of parliaments, and the full liberty they have more of late than ever taken to examine into, and censure breaches of the laws, we are very well assured shall not be attempted in her majesty's time: nay, on the contrary, the superiority, and influence of parliaments over and upon the management of public matters, nay, even their influence upon the royal majesty of the sovereign, has been such, and has in such a manner insensibly increased of late, that the like has never been known or practised in this nation for some ages before. We see her majesty declines extending her prerogative, either to the detriment of her subjects, in cases civil or religious, and wherein it might be so extended; nay, when even the parliament have desired her to extend it: so that we have a great satisfaction in the safety of our established liberties, and that no tyrannical, arbitrary invasions of right shall be made during her majesty's reign. But what if the queen should die?

In like manner for our properties, our estates, inheritance, lands, goods, lives, liberties, &c. These are effectually secured by laws of the land, and the sovereign in this country, having no right, but by law, to any part of the subject's estate, causes that estate to be called **PROPERTY**. The kings and queens of Britain are monarchs limited

to act by the laws. When they cease to rule by law, the constitution is broken, and they become tyrants, and arbitrary, despotic invaders of right. This is declared by the revolution, wherein the rights of the subject are openly, not set down only, but claimed, demanded as what justice required should be granted to them, and as what the sovereign, as aforesaid, has no right, no pretence, no just authority to take, or detain from him. This is the great capital and fundamental article of Magna Charta, and the foundation upon which all the laws subsequent and consequential to Magna Charta have been made. [*No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or be disseized of his freehold, or liberties, or free customs, or be outlawed, or exiled, or otherwise destroyed; nor we will not pass upon him, nor condemn him, but by lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.* Magna Charta, cap. xxix.] The words are plain and direct; and as to the subject we are now upon, they require no comment, no explication. Whatever they do, as to pleading in law the proof of the subject's right to the free possession of his own property, is also the less needful to enlarge upon here, because it is acknowledged in full and express terms by the sovereign, as well in practice, as in expression. Her majesty, adhering strictly to this, as a rule, has from the beginning of her reign made it her golden rule, to govern according to law. Nor, while the establishment of the crown itself is built upon the legal constitution of this nation, can it be otherwise here: that prince that governs here and not by law, may be said rather to oppress than to govern; rather to overrule, than to rule over his people. Now it cannot without great and unjustifiable violence to her majesty's just government, be suggested, that we are in any danger of

oppression during the righteous administration of her majesty's reign. The queen raises no money without act of parliament, keeps up no standing army in time of peace, disseizes no man of his property or estate ; but every man sits in safety under his own vine, and his fig-tree ; and we doubt not but we shall do as long as her majesty lives. But what if the queen should die ?

Possibly cavils may rise in the mouths of those whose conduct this nice question may seem to affect, that this is a question unfit to be asked, and questionless such people will have much to say upon that subject ; as that it is a factious question, a question needless to be answered, and impertinent therefore to be asked ; that it is a question which respects things remote, and serves only to fill the heads of the people with fears and jealousies ; that it is a question to which no direct answer can be given, and which suggests strange surmises, and amuses people about they know not what, and is of no use, but to make people uneasy without cause.

As there is no objection, which is material enough to make, but is material enough to answer, so this, although there is nothing of substance in it, may introduce something in its answer of substance enough to consider : it is therefore most necessary to convince the considering reader of the usefulness and necessity of putting this question ; and then likewise the usefulness and necessity of putting this question now at this time ; and if it appear to be both a needful question itself, and a seasonable question, as to time, the rest of the cavils against it will deserve the less regard. That it is a needful question, seems justified more abundantly from a very great example, to wit, the practice of the whole nation, in settling the succession of the

crown. This I take to be nothing else but this : the queen having no issue of her body, and the pretender to the crown being expelled by law, included in his father's disastrous flight and abdication ; when the parliament came to consider of the state of the nation, as to government as it now stands ; that king William being lately dead, and her majesty with universal joy of her people, being received as queen, the safety, and the lasting happiness of the nation is so far secured. But what if the queen should die ?

The introduction to all the acts of parliaments for settling the crown, implies thus much, and speaks directly this language, viz., to make the nation safe and easy in case the queen should die : nor are any of those acts of parliament impeached of faction, or impertinences ; much less of needless blaming the people, and filling their heads with fears and jealousies. If this example of the parliament is not enough justifying to this inquiry, the well known truth, upon which that example of parliament is grounded, is sufficient to justify it, viz., that we all know the queen must die. None say this with more concern and regret than those who are forwardest to put this question, as being of the opinion above said, that we are effectually secured against the pretender, and against all the terrifying consequences of the Frenchified governors, during her majesty's life. But this is evident, the queen is mortal, though crowned with all that flattering courtiers can bring together, to make her appear great, glorious, famous, or what you please ; yet the queen, yea the queen herself, is *mortal*, and *MUST* die. It is true, kings and queens are called gods ; but this respects their sacred power : nothing supposing an immortality attend-

ing their persons, for they all die like other men, and their dust knows no distinction in the grave. Since then it is most certain that the queen must die, and our safety and happiness in this nation depends so much upon the stability of our liberties, religion, and aforesaid dependencies after her majesty's life shall end, it cannot be a question offensive to any who has any concern in the public good, to inquire into what shall be the state of our condition, or the posture of our affairs, when the queen shall die ; but this is not all neither. As the queen is mortal, and we are assured she must die, so we are none of us certain as to be able to know when, or how soon, that disaster may happen ; at what time, or in what manner. This then, as it may be remote, and not a long time ; God of his infinite mercy grant it may be long first, and not before this difficult question we are upon be effectually and satisfactorily answered to the nation ; so on the other side, it may be near : none of us know how near, the fatal blow may befall us soon, and sooner far than we may be ready ; for to-day it may come, while the cavilling reader is objecting against our putting this question, and calling it unreasonable and needless ; while the word is in thy very mouth, mayest thou hear the fatal, melancholy news, the queen is dead. News that must one time or other be heard ; the word will certainly come some time or other, to be spoken in the present sense, and to be sure in the time they are spoken in. How can any one then say, that it is improper to ask what shall be our case, what shall we do, or what shall be done with us, If the queen should die ?

But we have another melancholy incident, which attends the queen's mortality, and which makes this question more than ordinarily seasonable to be

asked at this time ; and that is, that not only the queen is mortal, and she must die, and the time uncertain ; so that she may die, even to-day, before to-morrow, or in a very little space of time : but her life is, under God's providence, at the mercy of papists and jacobites' people ; who, the one by their principles, and the other by the circumstances of their party, are more than ordinarily to be apprehended for their bloody designs against her majesty, and against the whole nation. Nay, there seems more reason to be apprehensive of the dangerous attempts of these desperate people, at this time, than ever, even from the very reasons which are given all along in this work, for our being safe in our privileges, our religious and civil rights, during her majesty's life. It would be mispending your time to prove that the papists and jacobite parties in this nation, however they may, as we have said, be under ties and obligations of honour, interest, and gratitude, &c., not to make attempt upon us during the queen's life ; yet that they are more encouraged at this time than ever they were to hope and believe, that when the queen shall die, their turn stands next. This, we say, we believe is lost labour to speak of : the said people, the popish and tory party, will freely own and oppose it. They all take their obligations to the queen to end with her majesty's life. The French king, however in honour and gratitude he may think himself bound not to encourage the pretender to insult her majesty's dominions, while the queen, with whom he personally is engaged by treaty, shall remain alive, will think himself fully at liberty from those obligations when the queen shall die. If we are not misinformed of the French affairs, and of the notions they have in France of these things, they are generally no otherwise understood than that the king of France is

engaged by the peace now in view, not to disturb her majesty's possession during her reign and her life ; but that then the pretender's right is to be received everywhere. The pretender himself, howsoever, as above said, he may despair of his success in attempting to take possession during the queen's life, will not fail to assume new hopes at her majesty's death : so much then of the hopes of popery and French power ; so much of the interest of the pretender depending upon the single thread of life of a mortal person ; and we being well assured that they look upon her majesty only as the incumbent in a living, or tenant for life in an estate, what is more natural, than in this case for us to apprehend danger to the life of the queen ; especially to such people, who are known not to make much consciences of murdering princes, with whom the king-killing doctrine is so universally received, and who were so often detected of villanous practices and plots against the life of queen Elizabeth, her majesty's famous predecessor, and that upon the same foundation, viz., the queen of Scots being the popish pretender to the crown ; what can we expect from the same party, and men acting from the same principles, but the same practices ? It is known that the queen, by course of nature, may live many years, and these people have many reasons to be impatient of so much delay. They know that many accidents may intervene to make the circumstances of the nation, at the time of the queen's death, less favourable to their interests than they are now ; they may have fewer friends, as well in power, as out of power, by length of time, and the like : these, and such as these considerations may excite villanous and murderous practices against the precious life of our

sovereign (God protect her majesty from them); but while all these considerations so naturally offer themselves to us, it seems most rational, needful, seasonable, and just, that we should be asking and answering this great question, What if the queen should die?

Thus far we have only asked the question itself, and showed our reasons, or endeavoured to justify the reasonableness of the inquiry. It follows that we make some brief essay as an answer to the question. This may be done many ways; but the design of this tract is rather to put the question into your thought, than to put an answer into your mouths. The several answers which may be given to this important question may not be proper for a public print; and some may not be fit so much as to be spoken. The question is not without its uses, whether it be answered or no, if the nation be sufficiently awakened but to ask the question among themselves; they will be brought by thinking of the thing to answer it one to another in a short space. The people of Britain want only to be showed what imminent danger they are in, in case of the queen's decease: how much their safety and felicity depend upon the life of her majesty, and what a state of confusion, distress, and all sorts of dreadful calamities they will fall into at her majesty's death, if something be not done to settle them before her death; and if they are not during her majesty's life secured from the power of France, and the danger of the pretender.

THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN.

A SATIRE.

“Statuimus pacem, et securitatem, et concordiam, judicium et justiciam, inter Anglos et Normandos, Francos, et Britones Walliæ et Cornubiæ, Pictos et Scotos Albaniam, similiter inter Francos et Insulares Provincias et Patrias quæ pertinent ad coronam nostram et inter omnes nobis subjectos, firmiter et inviolabiliter observari.” *Charta Regis Wilhelmi Conquistoris de pace publicâ. Cap. 1. London. 1701. 4to. pp. 69.*

DANIEL DE FOE, incensed at the cry against foreigners, which the opponents of king William excited against his Dutch favourites and guards, composed the following Satire in their defence. It was written especially in answer to Tutchin's "Foreigner," an abusive poem.

PREFACE.



THE end of satire is reformation : and the author, though he doubt the work of conversion is at a general stop, has put his hand in the plough. I expect a storm of ill language from the fury of the town ; and especially from those whose English talent it is to rail : and, without being taken for a conjurer, I may venture to foretell, that I shall be cavilled at about my mean style, rough verse, and incorrect language, things I indeed might have taken more care in. But the book is printed ; and though I see some faults, it is too late to mend them. And this is all I think needful to say to them.

Possibly somebody may take me for a Dutchman ; in which they are mistaken : but I am one that would be glad to see Englishmen behave themselves better to strangers, and to governors also ; that one might not be reproached in foreign countries for belonging to a nation that wants manners.

I assure you, gentlemen, strangers use us better abroad ; and we can give no reason but our ill-nature for the contrary here.

Methinks an Englishman, who is so proud of being called a good fellow, should be civil. And it cannot be denied, but we are, in many cases, and particularly to strangers, the most churlish people alive.

As to vices, who can dispute our intemperance, while an honest drunken fellow is a character in a man's praise. All our reformatiions are banters, and will be so, till our magistrates and gentry reform themselves, by way of example; then, and not till then, they may be expected to punish others without blushing.

As to our ingratitude, I desire to be understood of that particular people, who, pretending to be protestants, have all along endeavoured to reduce the liberties and religion of this nation into the hands of king James and his popish powers: together with such who enjoy the peace and protection of the present government, and yet abuse and affront the king who procured it, and openly profess their uneasiness under him: these, by whatsoever names or titles they are dignified or distinguished, are the people aimed at; nor do I disown, but that it is so much the temper of an Englishman to abuse his benefactor, that I could be glad to see it rectified.

They who think I have been guilty of any error, in exposing the crimes of my own countrymen to themselves, may, among many honest instances of the like nature, find the same thing in Mr. Cowley,

in his imitation of the second Olympic Ode of Pindar ; his words are these :

But in this thankless world, the givers
Are envied even by the receivers.
'Tis now the cheap and frugal fashion,
Rather to hide than pay an obligation.
Nay, 'tis much worse than so ;
It now an artifice doth grow,
Wrongs and outrages they do,
Lest men should think we owe.

INTRODUCTION.

SPEAK, Satire, for there's none can tell like thee,
Whether 'tis folly, pride, or knavery,
That makes this discontented land appear
Less happy now, in times of peace, than war ;
Why civil feuds disturb the nation more
Than all our bloody wars have done before.

Fools, out of favour, grudge at knaves in place,
And men are always honest in disgrace.
The court preferments make men knaves in course,
But they which would be in them would be worse.
'Tis not at foreigners that we repine,
Would foreigners their perquisites resign :
The grand contention's plainly to be seen,
To get some men put out, and some put in.
For this our senators make long harangues,
And florid ministers whet their polished tongues.
Statesmen are always sick of one disease,
And a good pension gives them present ease.
That's the specific makes them all content
With any king, and any government.
Good patriots at court-abuses rail,
And all the nation's grievances bewail :
But when the sov'reign balsam's once applied,
The zealot never fails to change his side,
And when he must the golden key resign,
The railing spirit comes about again.

Who shall this bubbled nation disabuse,
While they their own felicities refuse ?
Who, at the wars have made such mighty pothor,
And now are falling out with one another :
With needless fear the jealous nations fill,
And always have been saved against their will ;
Who fifty millions sterling have disbursed,
To be with peace and too much plenty, cursed ;
Who their old monarch eagerly undo,
And yet uneasily obey the new.
Search, Satire, search, a deep incision make,
The poison's strong, the antidote's too weak :
'Tis pointed truth must manage this dispute,
And downright English, Englishmen confute.

Whet thy just anger at the nation's pride,
And with keen phrase repel the vicious tide,
To Englishmen their own beginning show,
And ask them, why they slight their neighbours so :
Go back to elder times, and ages past,
And nations into long oblivion cast ;
To elder Britain's youthful days retire,
And there for true-born Englishmen inquire,
Britannia freely will disown the name,
And hardly knows herself from whence they came ;
Wonders that they, of all men, should pretend
To birth, and blood, and for a name contend.
Go back to causes where our follies dwell,
And fetch the dark original from hell :
Speak, Satire, for there's none like thee can tell.

THE TRUE-BORN ENGLISHMAN.



PART I.

WHEREVER God erects a house of prayer,
The devil always builds a chapel there :
And 'twill be found, upon examination,
The latter has the largest congregation :
For ever since he first debauch'd the mind,
He made a perfect conquest of mankind.
With uniformity of service, he
Reigns with general aristocracy.
No non-conforming sects disturb his reign,
For of his yoke there's very few complain.
He knows the genius and the inclination,
And matches proper sins for ev'ry nation.
He needs no standing army government ;
He always rules us by our own consent :
His laws are easy, and his gentle sway
Makes it exceeding pleasant to obey.
The list of his vicegerents and commanders,
Outdoes your Cæsars, or your Alexanders ;
They never fail of his infernal aid,
And he's as certain ne'er to be betray'd.

Through all the world they spread his vast command,
And death's eternal empire is maintain'd.
They rule so politicly and so well,
As if they were lords justices of hell ;
Duly divided to debauch mankind,
And plant infernal dictates in his mind..

PRIDE, the first peer, and president of hell,
To his share, Spain, the largest province, fell.
The subtle prince thought fittest to bestow
On these the golden mines of Mexico,
With all the silver mountains of Peru ;
Wealth which in wise hands would the world undo ;
Because he knew their genius was such,
Too lazy and too haughty to be rich :
So proud a people, so above their fate,
That, if reduced to beg, they'll beg in state :
Lavish of money, to be counted brave,
And proudly starve, because they scorn to save ;
Never was nation in the world before,
So very rich, and yet so very poor.

LUST chose the torrid zone of Italy,
Where blood ferments in rapes and sodomy :
Where swelling veins o'erflow with living streams,
With heat impregnate from Vesuvian flames ;
Whose flowing sulphur forms infernal lakes,
And human body of the soil partakes.
There nature ever burns with hot desires,
Fann'd with luxuriant air from subterranean fires :
Here undisturb'd, in floods of scalding lust,
Th' infernal king reigns with infernal gust.

DRUNKENNESS, the darling favourite of hell,
Chose Germany to rule ; and rules so well,
No subjects more obsequiously obey,
None please so well, or are so pleased as they ;

The cunning artist manages so well,
 He lets them bow to heav'n, and drink to hell.
 If but to wine and him they homage pay,
 He cares not to what deity they pray ;
 What god they worship most, or in what way.
 Whether by Luther, Calvin, or by Rome,
 They sail for heaven, by wine he steers them home.

UNGOVERN'D PASSION settled first in France,
 Wheremankind lives in haste, and thrives by chance;
 A dancing nation, fickle, and untrue,
 Have oft undone themselves, and others too ;
 Prompt the infernal dictates to obey,
 And in hell's favour none more great than they.

The PAGAN world he blindly leads away,
 And personally rules with arbitrary sway :
 The mask thrown off, plain devil his title stands ;
 And what elsewhere he tempts, he there commands ;
 There, with full gust, th' ambition of his mind,
 Governs, as he of old in heaven design'd :
 Worshipp'd as God, his Paynim altars smoke,
 Imbrued with blood of those that him invoke.

The rest by deputies he rules so well,
 And plants the distant colonies of hell ;
 By them his secret power he firm maintains,
 And binds the world in his infernal chains.

By ZEAL the Irish, and the Russ by FOLLY,
 FURY the Dane, the Swede by MELANCHOLY ;
 By stupid IGNORANCE, the Muscovite ;
 The Chinese by a child of hell, call'd WIT ;
 WEALTH makes the Persian too effeminate ;
 And POVERTY the Tartar desperate :
 The Turks and Moors, by MAH'MET he subdues ;
 And God has given him leave to rule the Jews :

RAGE rules the Portuguese, and FRAUD the Scotch ;
REVENGE the Pole, and AVARICE the Dutch.

SATIRE, be kind, and draw a silent veil,
Thy native England's vices to conceal :
Or if that task's impossible to do,
At least be just, and show her virtues too ;
Too great the first, alas ! the last too few.

England, unknown, as yet unpeopled lay,—
Happy, had she remain'd so to this day,
And still to ev'ry nation been a prey.
Her open harbours, and her fertile plains,
The merchant's glory these, and those the swain's,
To ev'ry barbarous nation have betray'd her ;
Who conquer her as oft as they invade her,
So beauty, guarded but by innocence,
That ruins her which should be her defence.

INGRATITUDE, a devil of black renown,
Possess'd her very early for his own :
An ugly, surly, sullen, selfish spirit,
Who Satan's worst perfections does inherit ;
Second to him in malice and in force,
All devil without, and all within him worse.

He made her first-born race to be so rude,
And suffer'd her to be so oft subdued ;
By sev'ral crowds of wandering thieves o'errun,
Often unpeopled, and as oft undone,
While ev'ry nation that her powers reduced,
Their languages and manners introduced ;
From whose mix'd relics our compounded breed,
By spurious generation does succeed ;
Making a race uncertain and uneven,
Derived from all the nations under heaven.

The Romans first with Julius Cæsar came,
Including all the nations of that name,
Gauls, Greek, and Lombards; and, by computation,
Auxiliaries or slaves of ev'ry nation.
With Hengist, Saxons; Danes with Sweno came,
In search of plunder, not in search of fame.
Scots, Picts, and Irish from th' Hibernian shore;
And conq'ring William brought the Normans o'er.

All these their barb'rous offspring left behind,
The dregs of armies, they of all mankind;
Blended with Britons, who before were here,
Of whom the Welch ha' blest the character.

From this amphibious, ill-born mob began,
That vain ill-natured thing, an Englishman.
The customs, surnames, languages, and manners,
Of all these nations, are their own explainers;
Whose relics are so lasting and so strong,
They've left a Shibboleth upon our tongue;
By which, with easy search, you may distinguish
Your Roman, Saxon, Danish, Norman, English.

The great invading Norman let us know
What conquerors in after-times might do.
To ev'ry musqueteer he brought to town
He gave the lands which never were his own;
When first the English crown he did obtain,
He did not send his Dutchmen home again.
No re-assumptions in his reign were known,
Davenant might there ha' let his book alone.
No parliament his army could disband;
He raised no money, for he paid in land.
He gave his legions their eternal station,
And made them all freeholders of the nation.
He cantoned out the country to his men,
And ev'ry soldier was a denizen.

The rascals thus enrich'd, he called them lords,
To please their upstart pride with new-made words,
And doomsday-book his tyranny records.

And here begins the ancient pedigree
That so exalts our poor nobility.
'Tis that from some French trooper they derive,
Who with the Norman bastard did arrive :
The trophies of the families appear ;
Some show the sword, the bow, and some the spear,
Which their great ancestor, forsooth, did wear.
These in the herald's register remain,
Their noble mean extraction to explain,
Yet who the hero was no man can tell,
Whether a drummer or a colonel :
The silent record blushes to reveal
Their undescended dark original.

But grant the best. How came the change to pass ;
A true-born Englishman of Norman race ?
A Turkish horse can show more history,
To prove his well-descended family.
Conquest, as by the moderns 'tis express'd,
May give a title to the lands possess'd ;
But that the longest sword should be so civil,
To make a Frenchman English, that's the devil.

These are the heroes that despise the Dutch,
And rail at new-come foreigners so much ;
Forgetting that themselves are all derived
From the most scoundrel race that ever lived ;
A horrid crowd of rambling thieves and drones,
Who ransacked kingdoms and dispeopled towns ;
The Pict and painted Briton, treach'rous Scot,
By hunger, theft, and rapine, hither brought ;
Norwegian pirates, buccaneering Danes,
Whose red-hair'd offspring everywhere remains ;

Who, join'd with Norman French, compound the breed
From whence your true-born Englishmen proceed.

And lest, by length of time, it be pretended,
The climate may this modern breed have mended ;
Wise Providence, to keep us where we are,
Mixes us daily with exceeding care ;
We have been Europe's sink, the jakes, where she
Voids all her offal, outcast progeny ;
From our fifth Henry's time the strolling bands
Of banish'd fugitives from neighb'ring lands,
Have here a certain sanctuary found :
The eternal refuge of the vagabond,
Where in but half a common age of time,
Borrowing new blood and manners from the clime,
Proudly they learn all mankind to contemn,
And all their race are true-born Englishmen.

Dutch Walloons, Flemings, Irishmen, and Scots,
Vaudois, and Valtolins, and Huguenots,
In good queen Bess's charitable reign,
Supplied us with three hundred thousand men :
Religion,—God, we thank thee!—sent them hither,
Priests, protestants, the devil, and all together ;
Of all professions, and of ev'ry trade,
All that were persecuted or afraid ;
Whether for debt, or other crimes, they fled,
David at Hackelah was still their head.

The offspring of this miscellaneous crowd,
Had not their new plantations long enjoy'd,
But they grew Englishmen, and raised their votes,
At foreign shoals of interloping Scots ;
The royal branch from Pict-land did succeed,
With troops of Scots and scabs from north of Tweed ;
The seven first years of his pacific reign,
Made him and half his nation Englishmen.

Scots from the northern frozen banks of Tay,
With packs and plods came whigging all away,
Thick as the locusts which in Egypt swarm'd
With pride and hungry hopes completely arm'd ;
With native truth, diseases, and no money,
Plunder'd our Canaan of the milk and honey ;
Here they grew quickly lords and gentlemen,
And all their race are true-born Englishmen.

The civil wars, the common purgative,
Which always use to make the nation thrive,
Made way for all that strolling congregation,
Which throng'd in pious Charles's restoration.
The royal refugee our breed restores,
With foreign courtiers, and with foreign whores :
And carefully repeopled us again,
Throughout his lazy, long, lascivious reign,
With such a blest and true-born English fry,
As much illustrates our nobility.
A gratitude which will so black appear,
As future ages must abhor to bear :
When they look back on all that crimson flood,
Which stream'd in Lindsey's and Caernarvon's
blood ;
Bold Strafford, Cambridge, Capel, Lucas, Lisle,
Who crown'd in death his father's fun'ral pile.
The loss of whom, in order to supply
With true-born English nobility,
Six bastard dukes survive his luscious reign,
The labours of Italian Castlemain,
French Portsmouth, Tabby Scott, and Cambrian ;
Besides the num'rous bright and virgin throng,
Whose female glories shade them from my song.
This offspring if our age they multiply,
May half the house with English peers supply :
There with true English pride they may contemn
Schomberg and Portland, new-made noblemen.

French cooks, Scotch pedlars, and Italian whores,
Were all made lords or lords' progenitors.
Beggars and bastards by this new creation
Much multiplied the peerage of the nation ;
Who will be all, ere one short age runs o'er,
As true-born lords as those we had before.

Then to recruit the commons he prepares,
And heal the latent breaches of the wars ;
The pious purpose better to advance,
He invites the banish'd protestants of France ;
Hither for God's sake, and their own, they fled,
Some for religion came, and some for bread :
Two hundred thousand pair of wooden shoes,
Who, God be thanked, had nothing left to lose ;
To heaven's great praise did for religion fly,
To make us starve our poor in charity.
In ev'ry port they plant their fruitful train,
To get a race of true-born Englishmen ;
Whose children will, when riper years they see,
Be as ill-natur'd, and as proud as we ;
Call themselves English, foreigners despise,
Be surly like us all, and just as wise.

Thus from a mixture of all kinds began,
That heterogeneous thing, an Englishman :
In eager rapes, and furious lust begot,
Betwixt a painted Briton and a Scot :
Whose gend'ring offspring quickly learn to bow,
And yoke their heifers to the Roman plough ;
From whence a mongrel half-bred race there came,
With neither name nor nation, speech or fame,
In whose hot veins new mixtures quickly ran,
Infused betwixt a Saxon and a Dane ;
While their rank daughters to their parents just,
Received all nations with promiscuous lust.

This nauseous brood directly did contain
The well extracted blood of Englishmen.

Which medley, canton'd in a heptarchy,
A rhapsody of nations to supply,
Among themselves maintain'd eternal wars,
And still the ladies lov'd the conquerors.

The western Angles all the rest subdued,
A bloody nation, barbarous and rude ;
Who by the tenure of the sword possess'd
One part of Britain, and subdued the rest :
And as great things denominate the small,
The conquering part gave title to the whole ;
The Scot, Pict, Briton, Roman, Dane, submit,
And with the English Saxon all unite :
And these the mixture have so close pursued,
The very name and memory's subdued ;
No Roman now, no Briton does remain ;
Wales strove to separate, but strove in vain :
The silent nations undistinguish'd fall,
And Englishman's the common name for all.
Fate jumbled them together, God knows how ;
Whate'er they were, they're true-born English
now.

The wonder which remains is at our pride,
To value that which all wise men deride ;
For Englishmen to boast of generation
Cancels their knowledge, and lampoons the nation.

A true-born Englishman's a contradiction,
In speech an irony, in fact a fiction ;
A banter made to be a test of fools,
Which those that use it justly ridicules ;
A metaphor intended to express,
A man akin to all the universe.

For as the Scots, as learned men have said,
Throughout the world their wand'ring seed have
spread,
So open-handed England, 'tis believed,
Has all the gleanings of the world received.

Some think of England 'twas our Saviour meant,
The Gospel should to all the world be sent :
Since when the blessed sound did hither reach,
They to all nations might be said to preach.

'Tis well that virtue gives nobility,
Else God knows where had we our gentry,
Since scarce one family is left alive,
Which does not from some foreigner derive.
Of sixty thousand English gentlemen,
Whose names and arms in registers remain,
We challenge all our heralds to declare
Ten families which English Saxons are.

France justly boasts the ancient noble line
Of Bourbon, Montmorency, and Lorraine.
The Germans too their house of Austria show,
And Holland their invincible Nassau.
Lines which in heraldry were ancient grown
Before the name of Englishman was known.
Even Scotland, too, her elder glory shows,
Her Gordons, Hamiltons, and her Monro's ;
Douglas', Mackays, and Grahams, names well known,
Long before ancient England knew her own.

But England, modern to the last degree
Borrows or makes her own nobility,
And yet she boldly boasts of pedigree :
Repines that foreigners are put upon her,
And talks of her antiquity and honour :

Her S—lls, S—ls, C—ls, De— M—rs,
M—ns and M—ues, D—s and V—rs,
Not one have English names, yet all are English
peers.

Your H—ns, P—llons, and L—liers,
Pass now for true-born English knights and squires,
And make good senate-members, or lord-mayors.
Wealth, howsoever got, in England makes
Lords of mechanics, gentlemen of rakes.
Antiquity and birth are needless here ;
'Tis impudence and money makes a peer.

Innumerable city knights we know,
From blue-coat-hospitals, and bridewell flow.
Draymen and porters fill the city chair,
And footboys magisterial purple wear.
Fate has but very small distinction set
Betwixt the counter and the coronet.
Tarpaulin lords, pages of high renown,
Rise up by poor men's valour, not their own ;
Great families of yesterday we show,
And lords, whose parents were the Lord knows who.

PART II.

THE breed's described : now, Satire, if you can
Their temper show, for manners make the man.
Fierce as the Briton, as the Roman brave,
And less inclined to conquer than to save ;
Eager to fight, and lavish of their blood,
And equally of fear and forecast void.
The Pict has made them sour, the Dane morose,
False from the Scot, and from the Norman worse.
What honesty they have, the Saxon gave them,
And that, now they grow old, begins to leave them.
The climate makes them terrible and bold ;
And English beef their courage does uphold :
No danger can their daring spirit dull,
Always provided when their belly's full.

In close intrigues, their faculty's but weak ;
For, gen'rally, whate'er they know they speak.
And often their own councils undermine
By their infirmity, and not design.
From whence, the learned say, it does proceed,
That English treason never can succeed :
For they're so open-hearted, you may know
Their own most secret thoughts, and others too.

The lab'ring poor, in spite of double pay,
Are saucy, mutinous, and beggarly ;
So lavish of their money and their time,
That want of forecast is the nation's crime.

Good drunken company is their delight ;
And what they get by day they spend by night.
Dull thinking seldom does their heads engage,
But drink their youth away, and hurry on old age.
Empty of all good husbandry and sense ;
And void of manners most when void of pence.
Their strong aversion to behaviour's such,
They always talk too little or too much.
So dull, they never take the pains to think ;
And seldom are good-natured but in drink.

In English ale their dear enjoyment lies,
For which they'll starve themselves and families.
An Englishman will fairly drink as much
As will maintain two families of Dutch :
Subjecting all their labours to the pots ;
The greatest artists are the greatest sots.
The country poor do by example live ;
The gentry lead them, and the clergy drive ;
What may we not from such examples hope ?
The landlord is their god, the priest their pope ;
A drunken clergy, and a swearing bench,
Has given the reformation such a drench,
As wise men think, there is some cause to doubt,
Will purge good manners and religion out.

Nor do the poor alone their liquor prize,
The sages join in this great sacrifice ;
The learned men who study Aristotle,
Correct him with an explanation bottle :
Praise Epicurus rather than Lysander,
And Aristippus more than Alexander ;
The doctors too their Galen here resign,
And generally prescribe specific wine ;
The graduate's study's grown an easy task,
While for the urinal they toss the flask ;

The surgeon's art grows plainer every hour,
And wine's the balm which into wounds they pour.

Poets long since Parnassus have forsaken,
And say the ancient bards were all mistaken.
Apollo's lately abdicate and fled,
And good king Bacchus reigneth in his stead :
He does the chaos of the head refine,
And atom thoughts jump into words by wine :
The inspiration's of a finer nature,
As wine must needs excel Parnassus water.

Statesmen their weighty politics refine,
And soldiers raise their courages by wine.
Cecilia gives her choristers their choice,
And lets them all drink wine to clear the voice.

Some think the clergy first found out the way,
And wine's the only spirit by which they pray,
But others, less profane than so, agree,
It clears the lungs, and helps the memory :
And, therefore, all of them divinely think,
Instead of study, 'tis as well to drink.

And here I would be very glad to know,
Whether our Asgilites may drink or no ;
The enlightening fumes of wine would certainly
Assist them much when they begin to fly ;
Or if a fiery chariot should appear,
Inflamed by wine, they'd have the less to fear.

Even the gods themselves, as mortals say,
Were they on earth, would be as drunk as they :
Nectar would be no more celestial drink,
They'd all take wine, to teach them how to think.
But English drunkards, gods and men outdo,
Drink their estates away, and senses too.

Colon's in debt, and if his friend should fail
To help him out, must die at last in jail :
His wealthy uncle sent a hundred nobles,
To pay his trifles off, and rid him of his troubles ;
But Colon, like a true-born Englishman,
Drunk all the money out in bright champaign,
And Colon does in custody remain.
Drunk'ness has been the darling of the realm,
E'er since a drunken pilòt had the helm.

In their religion, they are so uneven,
That each man goes his own byway to heaven.
Tenacious of mistakes to that degree,
That ev'ry man pursues it sep'ately.
And fancies none can find the way but he :
So shy of one another they are grown,
As if they strove to get to heaven alone.
Rigid and zealous, positive and grave,
And ev'ry grace, but charity, they have ;
This makes them so ill-natured and uncivil,
That all men think an Englishman the devil.

Surly to strangers, froward to their friend,
Submit to love with a reluctant mind,
Resolved to be ungrateful and unkind.
If, by necessity, reduced to ask,
The giver has the difficultest task ;
For what's bestow'd they awkwardly receive,
And always take less freely than they give :
The obligation is their highest grief,
They never love where they accept relief ;
So sullen in their sorrows, that 'tis known,
They'll rather die than their afflictions own ;
And if relieved, it is too often true,
That they'll abuse their benefactors too ;
For in distress their haughty stomach's such,
They hate to see themselves obliged too much ;

Seldom contented, often in the wrong,
Hard to be pleased at all, and never long.

If your mistakes their ill opinion gain,
No merit can their favour re-obtain :
And if they're not vindictive in their fury,
'Tis their inconstant temper does secure ye ;
Their brain's so cool, their passion seldom burns ;
For all's condensed before the flame returns :
The fermentation's of so weak a matter,
The humid damps the flame, and runs it all to
water ;
So though the inclination may be strong,
They're pleased by fits, and never angry long :

Then, if good-nature show some slender proof,
They never think they have reward enough ;
But, like our modern quakers of the town,
Expect your manners, and return you none.

Friendship, th' abstracted union of the mind,
Which all men seek, but very few can find ;
Of all the nations in the universe,
None talk on't more, or understand it less ;
For if it does their property annoy,
Their property their friendship will destroy.
As you discourse them, you shall hear them tell
All things in which they think they do excel :
No panegyric needs their praise record,
An Englishman ne'er wants his own good word.
His first discourses generally appear,
Prologued with his own wond'rous character :
When, to illustrate his own good name,
He never fails his neighbour to defame.
And yet he really designs no wrong,
His malice goes no further than his tongue.

But, pleased to tattle, he delights to rail,
To satisfy the lech'ry of a tale.
His own dear praises close the ample speech,
Tells you how wise he is, that is, how rich :
For wealth is wisdom ; he that's rich is wise ;
And all men learned poverty despise :
His generosity comes next, and then
Concludes, that he's a true-born Englishman ;
And they, 'tis known, are generous and free,
Forgetting and forgiving injury :
Which may be true, thus rightly understood,
Forgiving ill turns, and forgetting good.

Cheerful in labour when they've undertook it,
But out of humour, when they're out of pocket.
But if their belly and their pocket's full,
They may be phlegmatic, but never dull :
And if a bottle does their brains refine,
It makes their wit as sparkling as their wine.

As for the general vices which we find,
They're guilty of in common with mankind.
Satire forbear, and silently endure,
We must conceal the crimes we cannot cure ;
Nor shall my verse the brighter sex defame,
For English beauty will preserve her name ;
Beyond dispute agreeable and fair,
And modester than other nations are ;
For where the vice prevails, the great temptation
Is want of money more than inclination ;
In general this only is allow'd,
They're something noisy, and a little proud.

An Englishman is gentlest in command,
Obedience is a stranger in the land :
Hardly subjected to the magistrate ;
For Englishmen do all subjection hate.

Humblest when rich, but peevish when they're poor,
And think whate'er they have, they merit more.

The meanest English plowman studies law,
And keeps thereby the magistrates in awe,
Will boldly tell them what they ought to do,
And sometimes punish their omissions too.

Their liberty and property's so dear,
They scorn their laws or governors to fear ;
So bugbear'd with the name of slavery,
They can't submit to their own liberty.
Restraint from ill is freedom to the wise !
But Englishmen do all restraint despise.
Slaves to the liquor, drudges to the pots ;
The mob are statesmen, and their statesmen sots.

Their governors, they count such dang'rous things,
That 'tis their custom to affront their kings :
So jealous of the power their kings possess'd,
They suffer neither power nor kings to rest.
The bad with force they eagerly subdue ;
The good with constant clamours they pursue,
And did king Jesus reign, they'd murmur too.
A discontented nation, and by far
Harder to rule in times of peace than war :
Easily set together by the ears,
And full of causeless jealousies and fears :
Apt to revolt, and willing to rebel,
And never are contented when they're well.
No government could ever please them long,
Could tie their hands, or rectify their tongue.
In this, to ancient Israel well compared,
Eternal murmurs are among them heard.

It was but lately, that they were oppress'd,
Their rights invaded, and their laws suppress'd :

When nicely tender of their liberty,
Lord! what a noise they made of slavery.
In daily tumults show'd their discontent,
Lampoon'd their king, and mock'd his government.
And if in arms they did not first appear,
'Twas want of force, and not for want of fear.
In humbler tone than English used to do,
At foreign hands for foreign aid they sue.

William, the great successor of Nassau,
Their prayers heard, and their oppressions saw :
He saw and saved them : God and him they praised :
To this their thanks, to that their trophies raised.
But glutt'd with their own felicities,
They soon their new deliverer despise ;
Say all their prayers back, their joy disown,
Unsing their thanks, and pull their trophies down ;
Their harps of praise are on the willows hung
For Englishmen are ne'er contented long.

The reverend clergy too, and who'd ha' thought
That they who had such non-resistance taught,
Should e'er to arms against their prince be brought,
Who up to heav'n did regal power advance ;
Subjecting English laws to modes of France,
Twisting religion so with loyalty,
As one could never live, and t'other die ;
And yet no sooner did their prince design
Their glebes and perquisites to undermine,
But all their passive doctrines laid aside,
The clergy their own principles denied :
Unpreach'd their non-resisting cant, and pray'd
To heav'n for help, and to the Dutch for aid ;
The church chimed all her doctrines back again,
And pulpit-champions did the cause maintain ;
Elew in the face of all their former zeal,
And non-resistance did at once repeal.

The Rabbis say it would be too prolix,
To tie religion up to politics,
The church's safety is *suprema lex* ;
And so by a new figure of their own,
Their former doctrines all at once disown ;
As laws *post facto* in the parliament.
In urgent cases have obtained assent ;
But are as dangerous precedents laid by,
Made lawful only by necessity.

The rev'rend fathers then in arms appear,
And men of God became the men of war :
The nation, fired by them, to arms apply,
Assault their antichristian monarchy ;
To their due channel all our laws restore,
And made things what they should have been before.
But when they came to fill the vacant throne,
And the pale priests look'd back on what they'd done,
How England liberty began to thrive,
And church of England loyalty outlive ;
How all their persecuting days were done,
And their deliv'rer placed upon the throne :
The priests, as priests are wont to do, turn'd tail,
They're Englishmen, and nature will prevail ;
Now they deplore the ruins they have made,
And murmur for the master they betray'd ;
Excuse those crimes they could not make him mend,
And suffer for the cause they can't defend ;
Pretend they'd not have carried things so high,
And proto-martyrs make for popery.

Had the prince done as they design'd the thing,
High set the clergy up to rule the king ;
Taken a donative for coming hither,
And so have left their king and them together ;
We had, say they, been now a happy nation ;
No doubt we had seen a blessed reformation :

For wise men say 'tis as dangerous a thing,
A ruling priesthood, as a priest-rid king ;
And of all plagues with which mankind are curst,
Ecclesiastic tyranny's the worst.

If all our former grievances were feign'd,
King James has been abused, and we trepann'd ;
Bugbear'd with popery and power despotic,
Tyrannic government, and leagues* exotic ;
The revolution's a fanatic plot,
W——— a tyrant, S——— a sot ;
A factious army and a poison'd nation,
Unjustly forced king James's abdication.

But if he did the subjects' rights invade
Then he was punish'd only, not betrayed ;
And punishing of kings is no such crime,
But Englishmen have done it many a time.

When kings the sword of justice first lay down,
They are no kings, though they possess the crown.
Titles are shadows, crowns are empty things,
The good of subjects is the end of kings ;
To guide in war, and to protect in peace,
Where tyrants once commence the kings do cease ;
For arbitrary power's so strange a thing,
It makes the tyrant and unmakes the king :
If kings by foreign priests and armies reign,
And lawless power against their oaths maintain,
Then subjects must have reason to complain ;
If oaths must bind us when our kings do ill,
To call in foreign aid is to rebel :
By force to circumscribe our lawful prince,
Is wilful treason in the largest sense :
And they who once rebel, must certainly
Their God, and king, and former oaths defy ;
If ye allow no mal-administration
Could cancel the allegiance of the nation,

Let all our learned sons of Levi try,
This ecclesiastic riddle to untie;
How they could make a step to call the prince,
And yet pretend the oath and innocence.

By th' first address they made beyond the seas,
They're perjurd in the most intense degrees;
And without scruple for the time to come,
May swear to all the kings in Christendom:
Nay truly did our kings consider all,
They'd never let the clergy swear at all;
Their politic allegiance they'd refuse,
For whores and priests do never want excuse.

But if the mutual contract was dissolved,
The doubt's explain'd, the difficulty solved;
That kings, when they descend to tyranny,
Dissolve the bond, and leave the subject free;
The government's ungirt when justice dies,
And constitutions are nonentities.
The nation's all a mob, there's no such thing,
As lords, or commons, parliament, or king;
A great promiscuous crowd the Hydra lies,
Till laws revive and mutual contract ties;
A chaos free to choose for their own share,
What case of government they please to wear;
If to a king they do the reins commit,
All men are bound in conscience to submit;
But then the king must by his oath assent,
To *Postulata's* of the government;
Which if he breaks he cuts off the entail,
And power retreats to its original.

This doctrine has the sanction of assent
From nature's universal parliament:
The voice of nations, and the course of things,
Allow that laws superior are to kings;

None but delinquents would have justice cease,
Knives rail at laws, as soldiers rail at peace;
For justice is the end of government,
As reason is the test of argument:
No man was ever yet so void of sense,
As to debate the right of self-defence;
A principle so grafted in the mind,
With nature born, and does like nature bind;
Twisted with reason, and with nature too,
As neither one nor t'other can undo.

Nor can this right be less when national,
Reason which governs one should govern all;
Whate'er the dialect of courts may tell,
He that his right demands can ne'er rebel;
Which right, if 'tis by governors denied,
May be procured by force or foreign aid;
For tyranny's a nation's term of grief,
As folks cry fire to hasten in relief;
And when the hated word is heard about,
All men should come to help the people out.

Thus England groan'd, Britannia's voice was
heard,
And great Nassau to rescue her appear'd:
Call'd by the universal voice of fate,
God and the people's legal magistrate:
Ye heavens regard! Almighty Jove look down,
And view thy injured monarch on the throne;
On their ungrateful heads due vengeance take
Who sought his aid, and then his part forsake:
Witness, ye powers! it was our call alone,
Which now our pride makes us ashamed to own;
Britannia's troubles fetch'd him from afar,
To court the dreadful casualties of war;
But where requital never can be made,
Acknowledgment's a tribute seldom paid.

He dwelt in bright Maria's circling arms,
Defended by the magic of her charms,
From foreign fears and from domestic harms ;
Ambition found no fuel for her fire,
He had what God could give, or man desire,
Till pity roused him from his soft repose,
His life to unseen hazards to expose ;
Till pity moved him in our cause to appear,
Pity ! that word which now we hate to hear ;
But English gratitude is always such,
To hate the hand that does oblige too much.

Britannia's cries gave birth to his intent,
And hardly gain'd his unforeseen assent ;
His boding thoughts foretold him he should find
The people fickle, selfish, and unkind ;
Which thought did to his royal heart appear
More dreadful than the dangers of the war ;
For nothing grates a generous mind so soon,
As base returns for hearty service done.

Satire, be silent ! awfully prepare
Britannia's song, and William's praise to hear ;
Stand by, and let her cheerfully rehearse
Her grateful vows in her immortal verse.
Loud fame's eternal trumpet let her sound,
Listen, ye distant poles, and endless round,
May the strong blast the welcome news convey,
As far as sound can reach or spirit fly !
To neighb'ring worlds, if such there be, relate
Our hero's fame for theirs to imitate ;
To distant worlds of spirits let her rehearse,
For spirits without the helps of voice converse ;
May angels hear the gladsome news on high,
Mix'd with their everlasting symphony ;
And hell itself stand in surprise to know,
Whether it be the fatal blast or no.

BRITANNIA.

THE fame of virtue 'tis for which I sound,
And heroes with immortal triumphs crown'd ;
Fame, built on solid virtue, swifter flies,
Than morning light can spread the eastern skies :
The gath'ring air returns the doubling sound,
And loud repeating thunders force it round ;
Echoes return from caverns of the deep,
Old Chaos dreams on't in eternal sleep :
Time hands it forward to its latest urn,
From whence it never, never shall return :
Nothing is heard so far, or lasts so long,
'Tis heard by ev'ry ear, and spoke by ev'ry tongue.

My hero, with the sails of honour furl'd,
Rises like the great genius of the world ;
By fate and fame wisely prepared to be
The soul of war and life of victory ;
He spreads the wings of virtue on the throne,
And ev'ry wind of glory fans them on ;
Immortal trophies dwell upon his brow,
Fresh as the garlands he has won but now.

By different steps the high ascent he gains,
And differently that high ascent maintains :
Princes for pride and lust of rule make war,
And struggle for the name of conqueror ;
Some fight for fame, and some for victory,
He fights to save, and conquers to set free.

Then seek no phrase his titles to conceal,
And hide with words what actions must reveal ;
No parallel from Hebrew stories take,
Of godlike kings my similies to make ;
No borrowed names conceal my living theme,
But names and things directly I proclaim ;
His honest merit does his glory raise,
Whom that exalts let no man fear to praise ;
Of such a subject no man need be shy,
Virtue's above the reach of flattery ;
He needs no character but his own fame,
Nor any flattering titles but his own name.

WILLIAM's the name that's spoke by ev'ry tongue,
William's the darling subject of my song ;
Listen, ye virgins, to the charming sound,
And in eternal dances hand it round ;
Your early offerings to this altar bring,
Make him at once a lover and a king ;
May he submit to none but to your arms,
Nor ever be subdued, but by your charms ;
May your soft thoughts for him be all sublime,
And ev'ry tender vow be made for him ;
May he be first in ev'ry morning thought,
And heav'n ne'er hear a prayer where he's left out ;
May every omen, every boding dream,
Be fortunate by mentioning his name ;
May this one charm infernal powers affright,
And guard you from the terror of the night ;
May ev'ry cheerful glass as it goes down
To William's health, be cordials to your own :
Let ev'ry song be choruss'd with his name,
And music pay her tribute to his fame ;
Let ev'ry poet tune his artful verse,
And in immortal strains his deeds rehearse :
And may Apollo never more inspire
The disobedient bard with his seraphic fire :

May all my sons their grateful homage pay,
His praises sing, and for his safety pray.

Satire, return to our unthankful isle,
Secured by heaven's regards, and William's toil;
To both ungrateful, and to both untrue,
Rebels to God, and to good nature too.

If e'er this nation be distress'd again,
To whomso'er they cry, they'll cry in vain :
To heav'n they cannot have the face to look,
Or, if they should, it would but heav'n provoke ;
To hope for help from man would be too much,
Mankind would always tell 'em of the Dutch :
How they came here our freedoms to maintain,
Were paid, and cursed, and hurried home again :
How by their aid we first dissolved our fears,
And then our helpers damn'd for foreigners :
'Tis not our English temper to do better,
For Englishmen think ev'ry one their debtor.

'Tis worth observing, that we ne'er complain'd
Of foreigners, nor of the wealth we gain'd,
Till all their services were at an end :
Wise men affirm it is the English way,
Never to grumble till they come to pay ;
And then they always think, their temper's such,
The work too little, and the pay too much.

As frightened patients, when they want a cure,
Bid any price, and any pain endure :
But when the doctor's remedies appear,
The cure's too easy, and the price too dear :
Great Portland near was banter'd when he strove,
For us his master's kindest thoughts to move :
We ne'er lampoon'd his conduct, when employ'd
King James's secret councils to divide ;

Then we caress'd him as the only man,
Who could the doubtful oracle explain ;
The only Hushai, able to repel
The dark designs of our Achitophel:
Compared his master's courage to his sense,
The ablest statesman, and the bravest prince ;
On his wise conduct we depended much,
And liked him ne'er the worse for being Dutch:
Nor was he valued more than he deserved,
Freely he ventured, faithfully he served :
In all King William's dangers he has shared,
In England's quarrels always he appear'd :
The revolution first, and then the Boyne,
In both his counsels and his conduct shine ;
His martial valour Flanders will confess,
And France regrets his managing the peace ;
Faithful to England's interest and her king,
The greatest reason of our murmuring :
Ten years in English service he appear'd,
And gain'd his master's and the world's regard ;
But 'tis not England's custom to reward,
The wars are over, England needs him not ;
Now he's a Dutchman, and the Lord knows what.

Schonbergh, the ablest soldier of his age,
With great Nassau did in our cause engage ;
Both join'd for England's rescue and defence,
The greatest captain and the greatest prince ;
With what applause his stories did we tell,
Stories which Europe's volumes largely swell !
We counted him an army in our aid,
Where he commanded, no man was afraid ;
His actions with a constant conquest shine,
From Villa Vitiosa to the Rhine ;
France, Flanders, Germany, his fame confess,
And all the world was fond of him but us :

Our turn first served, we grudged him the command,
Witness the grateful temper of the land.

We blame the k—, that he relies too much,
On Strangers, Germans, Huguenots, and Dutch ;
And seldom does his great affairs of state,
To English counsellors communicate ;
The fact might very well be answer'd thus :
He had so often been betray'd by us,
He must have been a madman to rely,
On English gentlemen's fidelity ;
For, laying other arguments aside :
This thought might mortify our English pride ;
That foreigners have faithfully obey'd him,
And none but Englishmen have e'er betray'd him :
They have our ships and merchants bought and sold,
And barter'd English blood for foreign gold ;
First to the French they sold our Turkey fleet,
And injured Talmarsh next at Cameret ;
The king himself is shelter'd from their snares,
Not by his merits, but the crown he wears ;
Experience tells us 'tis the English way,
Their benefactors always to betray.

And, lest examples should be too remote,
A modern magistrate of famous note,
Shall give you his own history by rote ;
I'll make it out, deny it he that can,
His worship is a true-born Englishman ;
By all the latitude that empty word,
By modern acceptance's understood :
The parish books his great descent record,
And now he hopes ere long to be a lord ;
And truly, as things go, it would be pity,
But such as he bore office in the city ;
While robb'ry for burnt-offering he brings,
And gives to God what he has stole from kings ;

Great monuments of charity he raises,
And good St. Magnus whistles out his praises ;
To city jails he grants a jubilee,
And hires huzzas from his own mobile.

Lately he wore the golden chain and gown,
With which equipp'd he thus harangued the town.

HIS FINE SPEECH, &c.

WITH clouted iron shoes and sheepskin breeches,
More rags than manners, and more dirt than riches;
From driving cows and calves to Laton market,
While of my greatness there appear'd no spark yet;
Behold I come, to let you see the pride,
With which exalted beggars always ride.

Born to the needful labours of the plough,
The cart-whip graced me as the chain does now;
Nature and fate in doubt what course to take,
Whether I should a lord or plough-boy make,
Kindly at last resolved they would promote me,
And first a knave, and then a knight they vote me:
What fate appointed, nature did prepare,
And furnish'd me with an exceeding care;
To fit me for what they design'd to have me,
And ev'ry gift, but honesty, they gave me.

And thus equipp'd, to this proud town I came,
In quest of bread, and not in quest of fame;
Blind to my future fate, an humble boy,
Free from the guilt and glory I enjoy;
The hopes which my ambition entertain'd,
Were in the name of foot-boy all contain'd:
The greatest heights from small beginnings rise,
The gods were great on earth before they reach'd
the skies.

B--well, the generous temper of whose mind
Was always to be bountiful inclined;

Whether by his ill fate or fancy led,
First took me up, and furnish'd me with bread :
The little services he put me to,
Seem'd labours rather than were truly so ;
But always my advancement he design'd,
For 'twas his very nature to be kind :
Large was his soul, his temper ever free,
The best of masters and of men to me ;
And I who was before decreed by fate,
To be made infamous as well as great ;
With an obsequious diligence obey'd him,
Till trusted with his all, and then betray'd him.

All his past kindnesses I trampled on,
Ruin'd his fortunes to erect my own :
So vipers in the bosom bred, begin,
To hiss at that hand first which took them in ;
With eager treach'ry I his fall pursued,
And my first trophies were ingratitude.

Ingratitude's the worst of human guilt,
The basest action mankind can commit ;
Which, like the sin against the Holy Ghost,
Has least of honour, and of guilt the most :
Distinguish'd from all other crimes by this,
That 'tis a crime which no man will confess ;
That sin alone, which should not be forgiven
On earth, although perhaps it may in heaven.

Thus my first benefactor I o'erthrew,
And how should I be to a second true ?
The public trust came next into my care,
And I to use them scurvily prepare :
My needy sov'reign lord I played upon,
And lent him many a thousand of his own :
For which great interest I took care to charge,
And so my ill-got wealth became so large .

My predecessor Judas was a fool,
Fitter to have been whipped and sent to school,
Than sell a Saviour : had I been at hand,
His master had not been so cheap trepann'd ;
I would have made the eager Jews have found,
For thirty pieces, thirty thousand pound.

My cousin Ziba, of immortal fame,
(Ziba and I shall never want a name,)
First-born of treason, nobly did advance
His master's fall for his inheritance :
By whose keen arts old David first began,
To break his sacred oath to Jonathan :
The good old king, 'tis thought, was very loath
To break his word, and therefore broke his oath :
Ziba's a traitor of some quality,
Yet Ziba might have been inform'd by me :
Had I been there he ne'er had been content,
With half th' estate, nor half the government.

In our late revolution 'twas thought strange,
That I of all mankind should like the change ;
But they who wonder'd at it never knew,
That in it I did my old game pursue ;
Nor had they heard of twenty thousand pound,
Which ne'er was lost, yet never could be found.

Thus all things in their turn to sale I bring,
God and my master first, and then the king,
Till by successful villanies made bold,
I thought to turn the nation into gold :
And so to forgery my hand I bent,
Not doubting I could gull the government,
But there was ruffled by the parliament ;
And if I 'scaped the unhappy tree to climb,
'Twas want of law, and not for want of crime ;

But my old friend who printed in my face, "
A needful competence of English brass ;
Having more business yet for me to do,
And loath to lose his trusty servant so,
Managed the matter with such art and skill,
As saved his hero, and threw out the bill.

And now I'm graced with unexpected honours,
For which I'll certainly abuse the donors ;
Knighted and made a tribune of the people,
Whose laws and properties I'm like to keep well,
The *custos rotulorum* of the city,
And captain of the guards of their banditti ;
Surrounded by my catchpoles, I declare,
Against the needy debtor open war ;
I hang poor thieves for stealing of your pelf,
And suffer none to rob you but myself.

The king commanded me to help reform ye,
And how I'll do't, Miss —— shall inform ye.
I keep the best seraglio in the nation,
And hope in time to bring it into fashion ;
No brimstone-whore need fear the lash from me,
That part I'll leave to brother Jefferey :
Our gallants need not go abroad to Rome,
I'll keep a whoring jubilee at home :
Whoring's the darling of my inclination,
An't I a magistrate for reformation ?
For this my praise is sung by ev'ry bard,
For which Bridewell would be a just reward ;
In print my panegyric fills the street,
And hired gaol-birds their huzzas repeat ;
Some charities contrived to make a show,
Have taught the needy rabble to do so ;
Whose empty noise is a mechanic fame,
Since for sir Beelzebub they'd do the same.

*The devil.

THE CONCLUSION.

THEN let us boast of ancestors no more,
Or deeds of heroes done in days of yore,
In latent records of the ages past,
Behind the rear of time, in long oblivion placed ;
For if our virtues must in lines descend,
The merit with the families would end,
And intermixtures would most fatal grow,
For vice would be hereditary too ;
The tainted blood would of necessity
Involuntary wickedness convey.

Vice, like ill nature, for an age or two,
May seem a generation to pursue ;
But virtue seldom does regard the breed,
Fools do the wise, and wise men fools succeed.

What is't to us what ancestors we had ?
If good, what better ? or what worse, if bad ?
Examples are for imitation set,
Yet all men follow virtue with regret.

Could but our ancestors retrieve their fate,
And see their offspring thus degenerate ;
How we contend for birth and names unknown,
And build on their past actions, not our own ;
They'd cancel records, and their tombs deface,
And openly disown the vile degenerate race :
For fame of families is all a cheat,
It's personal virtue only makes us great.

FINIS.